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ABSTRACT

The CapeVerdean Language Project's final report presents a phonemic analysis of the Capeverdean language, a derivation of Portuguese traditionally considered a dialect. The project's research is based on the assumption that Capeverdean is a language with its own dialects, and the research was intended to determine an autonomous phonemic representation of it. An introductory section outlines the history of the Capeverdean language, and subsequent sections contain the following portions of the analysis: segmental phonemes, vowels, consonants, syllabic structure, vowel and consonant alternations, and the phonological process. A discussion of Capeverdean orthography looks at the need for standardization, describes an experiment to develop a standardized orthography, and presents the proposed new version. A Capeverdean language teaching text, reader, and Capeverdean/English glossary are included, and a teacher's manual and classroom visuals are appended. (MSE)

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CAPE VERDEAN LANGUAGE PROJECT

Final Report

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This document constitutes the final report of the Capeverdean Language Project funded by Title VI - grant #G008302136. The report covers the first and second operational years of the project which began in September, 1983, and ended in August, 1985.

The first phase of the Capeverdean Language Project includes a detailed phonological analysis of the Capeverdean language and a proposed standardized orthography. The orthography was incorporated in the Capeverdean Language Teaching Text and the Capeverdean Reader which were developed during the second phase of the project.

Donaldo P. Macedo served as the principal investigator. The following individuals worked as consultants to the project: Bruce Fraser, John Ross, Richard Newman, Arthur Lomba, Steve Molinsky, Dale Koike, and Benvindo Leitao.

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0.0 The Development of the Capeverdean Languauge

Traditionally, researchers in the field of pidgin and creole languages have celebrated the simplification theory, which views a pidgin development as being a simplified version of the colonizer's language. Research by Coelho (1880), Robert Hall (1966), Naro (1971 and elsewhere), and Bickerton (1977), for instance, cite the lack of number and gender marking, and a noninflected verbal system, among other examples, as evidence supporting the simplification hypothesis. The absence of these "marked features" is often used as a kind of yardstick to substantiate the notion that pidgin is a reduced, "hybridized and unstable linguistic system".

This theoretical posture emphasizes a top-to-bottom mode of analysis with the colonial language at the top, and removes the native language from any meaningful participation in either the construction or the development of the pidgin. The simplification model is very limited in nature since it fails to fully capture the dynamics of languages in contact: that is, it dogmatizes the reductionist view by taking the "upper-language"[1] as a point of reference and analyzing the omission of the "upper-language" in pidgin surface features. Moreover, linguists have been unable to differentiate the factors that are purely socio-cultural in nature from those that are specifically linguistic, given that social definitions of these processes often misinterpret the phenomenon of pidginization. The controversy and the ongoing debate in the field highlight the different ideologies which have kept pidgin specialists from agreeing on even the basic definitions of linguistic phenomena under study. Our interest is not to add more fuel to the present debate which, in our opinion, has given rise to conceptual gaps and obfuscated the true nature of the linguistic system known as pidgin. Our main interest is to situate the analysis of the pidginization process within a linguistic theory, particularly the Government and Binding Theoretical framework advanced by Chomsky (1981). We will argue that 1) what appears to be merely a reduction of forms of the "upper-language" is, in fact, the application of higher principles of grammar which so govern such linguistic realizations; and, 2) pidgin development is governed by universal principles which must meet at least one fundamental condition: maximal learnability. (We are not attempting to treat learnability here with the same theoretical status as discussed in Wexler and Culicover (1980) or Pinker (1984). Learnability should be taken to mean merely "ease of learning".)

The hypothesis that pidgin development is governed by universal principles is not a novel idea in the field. It had been advanced in research studies as early as 1880 by Coelho and, subsequently, by Naro (1973), Kay and Sankoff (1974), Bickerton (1981), among others. However, some of these studies only treated the universal connection in passing, and others failed to fully explore the explicative power of Universal Grammar (UG) with respect to pidgin developments.

Chomsky (1981) proposes an idealized theory of language acquisition whereby the learner:

> approaches the task equipped with UG and an associated theory of markedness that serves two functions: it imposes a preference structure on the parameters of UG, and it permits the extension of core grammar to a marked periphery. Experience is necessary to fix the values of parametrs of the core grammar (p. 8).

The theory of markedness and the preference of structure are of extreme importance to my learnability hypothesis. We shall return to this point later.

Examples from pidgins provide important insights into Chomsky's language acquisition model in two respects: 1) Language learners often acquire a language on the basis of slender direct evidence, even in highly homogeneous language contexts. In the case of pidgin where the linguistic input is highly heterogeneous, the direct evidence is practically non-existent. Hence, the learner must rely mainly on innate mechanisms which are part of the UG. 2) The creation of novel structures by the learner may have little to do with the input data. In fact, findings from empirical studies in language acquisition and pidgin development clearly show that these novel structures are only slightly influenced by the input data.

To better understand the creative nature of pidgin development, we must attempt to distinguish as clearly as possible between core grammar and periphery. Chomsky (1981) is vague in this repect when he says that "each actual language will incorporate a periphery of borrowings, historical residues, inventions, and so on, which we can hardly expect to -- and indeed would not want to -- incorporate within a principled theory of UG." The lack of a clear distinction between the core grammar and periphery has led D'Introno (forthcoming) to identify three flaws in Chomsky's model: 1) Chomsky fails to define precisely what a parameter is or classify the possible types of parameters; 2) he does not clearly distinguish core grammar from periphery; and 3) since both rules and principles can be parameters, the theory has too much power and flexibility. The issues which D'Introno raises need to be addressed if Chomsky's model is to achieve the desired explicatory power and, at the same time, remain restrictive enough to limit the range of possible grammars. While points 1 and 3 are pertinent, they are beyond the scope of this paper.

D'Introno (forthcoming) redefines periphery by assigning it its own independent structure. That is, he contends that the periphery is developed by fixing parameters that are specific to the periphery domain, although these parameters may be inherently related to the core grammar parameters: "In the periphery we find idiosyncratic and marked constructions and forms that, in most cases, are obtained by fixing parameters of the periphery. These parameters are distinct from those of the core grammar." Even though it is desirable to assign the periphery its own structure, we do not believe it appropriate to make it autonomous from the core. In our opinion, when parameters are fixed, a core is produced (SVO order, fixing a parameter of core grammar). The incorporation of a specified and marked periphery, such as irregular verbs, would then be the assignment of different values to the already fixed parameters of the core grammar. In this view, the marked periphery is subordinate and derivative of the general principles found at the core grammar by fixing parameters. For example, the various marked relative forms found in languages such as Portuguese and Spanish are derivative of a more general principle; call it "relativization". The relativization parameter-fixing generates an abstract structure, represented (roughly) in labelled bracketing as in

$$NP\ [[COMP]...VP...]^{2}$$

which assigns grammatical relations to the relative pronoun that will fill the empty slot COMP. Then, we would expect the less restrictive form que to mirror the core grammar more closely, while the more specific and environmentally restricted forms such as quien, cuyo, etc. would be considered the property of the periphery. To the extent that we are correct, when a parameter is fixed at the core grammar, i.e., fix R, it can be extended to the periphery by assigning different values to R, thus producing forms R_1, R_2, R_3. The latter forms are part of and governed by the more general principle fix R in the core grammar. Different experiences serve to assign values in the periphery. We would then expect to find more similarities in the core grammars of different languages while their periphery will more radically differ, depending on the nature of value assignment and experience.

Due to the preference of structure, every grammar has the option to fix parameters in one way or another. Experience is obviously necessary to fix them. Once a parameter is fixed, it can incorporate a specified and marked periphery by the assignment of different values. The value assignment is also guided by the preference of structure and the experience which serves to fix it. The resultant marked forms are part of a hierarchical structure characterized by a gradation which ranges from the least marked at one end of the scale (closest to the core), as in example (2), to the more marked forms on the opposite end of the scale. Clauses (3) through (6) are examples of Portuguese with marked relatives (*de quem*, *sobre quem*, *do qual*, *cujo*).

(2) Este rapaz *que* me vendeu a casa hoje
(This guy that sold me a house today)

(3) Este rapaz *de quem* me falaram hoje
(This guy of whom they talked to me today)

(4) Este rapaz *sobre quem* me falaram hoje
(This guy about whom they talked to me today)

(5) Este rapaz *do qual* me falaram hoje
(This guy of which they talk to me today)

(6) Este rapaz *cujo* filho foi assessinado
(This guy whose son was assassinated)

The least marked form in (2) more closely reflects the general principles that are inherent in the UG devices with which the learner approaches language acquisition. The more marked samples, (3) through (6), are associated with the periphery and have to be learned. The actual learning is dependent on positive direct evidence as well as negative direct evidence from the input data to which the learner is exposed.

How do core grammar and periphery relate to the learnability hypothesis? By way of a possible explanation for how the pidgin grammar does not accurately reflect the rules of the donor languages in contact, let's assume that donor language peripheries are only indirectly connected to the development of the pidgin grammar and that core grammar is as central to pidgin development as it is to child language acquisition. This kind of process was characterized by Hale (1973) as the development of "an optimal grammar which is capable of generating ... a grammar whose rules are maximally general" (p. 403). Hale further states that "children tend to construct rules whose generality greatly exceeds that of corresponding rules in the grammar of older speakers. Thus, where the adult standard has a rule with a number of exceptions, the child may construct a rule without exceptions...children show rather clearly that the strategy of rule generalization is used not only in defiance of simple evidence from adult standard but also in defiance of evidence available in linguistic forms a child has already acquired (pp. 403-404). The generalization of rules in child language acquisition is amply documented in empirical studies.

Familiar plurals can be temporarily changed by overgeneralization of new patterns. The English irregular past tense marker is learned early, but when the regular past tense suffix is acquired it is readily extended to them (Hale, 1973, p. 404).

Similar processes are also observed in pidgin developments. In the Capeverdean case[3], some Portuguese irregular verbs were introduced early in its history, perhaps due to the high statistical frequency of occurence in the input data, as in (7). But, when the imperfect tense marker "ba" was introduced into the language, it was attached to the irregular form ser as in (8).

(7) Dudu cre ser homi
(Dudu wants to be a man)

(8) Dudu cre serba homi
(Dudu wants to be (+ imperfect marker) a man)

If Hale's hypothesis of the defiance of evidence is correct, the UG innate devices in the construction of novel structures in child language, as well as in pidgin development, are the central focus of language acquisition. The question remains why is there a close similarity between the overgeneralization of rules in child language acquisition and the tendency toward regularity of forms and over-regularization in pidgins? This linguistic phenomenon is not well understood but, in my opinion, it may be intimately related to UG devices and an associated theory of markedness. According to Chomsky "experience is necessary to fix the values of parameters of core grammar. In the absence to the contrary, unmarked options are selected." This is possible due to the preference of structure which gives learners the option to select one structure over another. In the case of pidgins where the input data is highly heterogeneous and unstable at best, we would expect to find a tendency toward the selection of unmarked options. In fact, this is unquestionably true since pidgins, as well as creoles, are characterized by an overabundance of unmarked structures. Hence, it is plausible to assume that pidginization involves a process governed by principles of UG, guided by a preference of structure and its implicational relations with an associated theory of markedness. This process may be characterized by a movement toward the core grammar, while eliminating the marked peripheries of the donor languages.

Before proceeding, let us clarify what is meant by markedness. In this paper we are using Eckman's definition which views markedness as

> a phenomenon A in some language is more marked than B if the presence of A in a language implies the presence of B; but the presence of B does not imply the presence of A.

Accordingly, a language has at least two possibilities: a marked option and an unmarked option. To take a concrete case, examples (2) through (6) show the range of possibilities in Portuguese relativization. We take (2) to be the unmarked form while (3) through (6) represent the marked cases. The presence of (3) through (6) implies the presence of (2) but the reverse cannot be true. The hierachy of markedness in (3) to (6) is closely connected to my learnability hypothesis. That is, the least marked form (2) is more easily learnable, or acquired, and the more marked forms, (3) through (6), present more learning difficulty.

In the pidginization process we predict that the unmarked forms will be selected while the marked forms will be eliminated. Indeed, empirical evidence from the Capeverdean language seems to support this hypothesis. If the learnability model is correct, we would expect the pidginization of Capeverdean to collapse the Portuguese relatives (2) through (6) and produce an unmarked form, as seen in (2') through (6').

(2) Este rapaz *que* me vendeu a casa hoje
(2') Es rapaz *qui* benden casa huje
(This guy that sold me a house today)

(3) Este rapaz *de que* me falaram hoje
(3') Es rapaz *qui* es papia'n d'el huje
(This guy that they talked to me about (him) today)

(4) Este rapaz *sobre quem* me falaram hoje
(4') Es rapaz *qui* es papia'n d'el huje
(This guy that they talked to me about (him) today)

(5) Este rapaz *do qual* me falaram hoje
(5') Es rapaz *qui* es papia'n d'el huje
(This guy that they talked to me about (him) today)

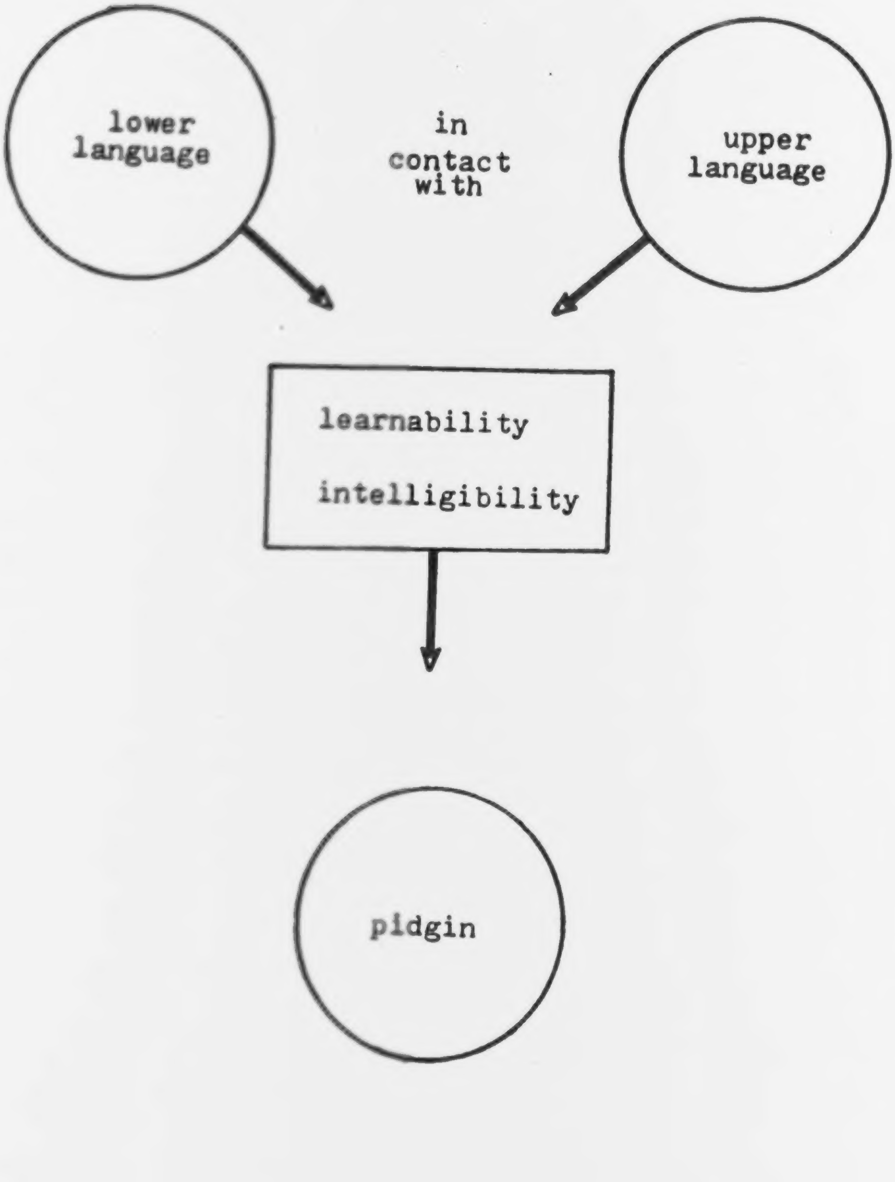
(6) Este rapaz *cujo* filho foi assessinado

(6') Es rapaz qui es mata se fidjo

(This guy whose son was assassinated)

The above examples suggest that both the preference of structures and its implicational relations with an associated theory of markedness are critical factors in the construction of the pidgin grammar. If the preference of structure imposes the selection of unmarked structures, which we are assuming are more easily learnable, the pidginization model proposed in (9) is suggested.

In other words, the model depicted in (9) predicts that when two or more different languages are in contact, and there is an immediate need to communicate, a pidgin linguistic system may develop. The heterogeneous input data provides a new experience. This experience serves to fix the parameters of the pidgin core grammar. However, the fixing of paramaters is guided by the preference of structure which maximizes learnability. The preference of structure and the learnability factors function as a sifter which eliminates the irregular and idiosyncratic structures of the marked peripheries of the languages in contact, yielding a pidgin core grammar. This core grammar has the option to develop its own periphery. The resultant pidgin grammar would be characterized by forms which are largely unmarked and show a systematic tendency toward regularity and overgeneralization of structure. Also, these forms more closely reflect those general


lower language
in contact with
upper language
learnability
intelligibility
pidgin

principles of core grammar. Empirical evidence seems to support this close correlation between the general principles of core grammar and the unmarked characterization of the pidgin and creole grammars. The data given in (10) shows that the highly marked Portuguese verbal system is reduced to one unmarked base form in Capeverdean. Even the radically irregular forms are regularized.

(10)	AR	ER	IR	OR
Portuguese	Amava	Comia	Vestia	Punha
Capeverdean	Amaba	Comeba	Bestiba	Poba

If language A and B are in a contact situation and A is characterized by structures that meet the learnability criterion, that is, language A shows a tendency toward structures which are maximally general, the resultant pidgin grammar will largely mirror the properties of language A.

In the Capeverdean situation, there is a predominance of African structures which substantiate the above assumption. Vestiges of some West African languages, believed to be present in the contact situation with Portuguese, seem to indicate a closer relationship between Capeverdean structures and African forms. Ironically, these same forms served to substantiate the phenomenon labelled as the simplification of Portuguese. The following examples describe some of the parallels between African structures and Capeverdean forms:

(11) Gender

Capeverdean	Portuguese	Mandinka
a) minino (child)	d) crianca	g) di
b) minino matcho (male child)	e) menino	h) dinke
c) minino femea (female child)	f) menina	i) di muso

(12) Non-inflected verbs

Capeverdean	Portuguese	Fante
a) 'n proxima (I approach)	f) Eu aproximo	me ben
b) bo proxima (you approach)	g) tu aproximas	e ben
c) el proxima (he approaches)	h) ele aproxima	ben
d) no proxima (we approach)	i) nos aproximamos	y ben
e) es proxima (they approach)	j) eles aproximam	w ben

Examples (11) and (12) further illustrate the notion that the pidgin core grammar and the subsequent incorporation of a periphery is targeted toward the donor language(s) in the contact situation with which it shares more of the general principles we have discussed. This may explain why certain creoles have undergone decreolization, as in the case of Jamaican and Hawaiian creole[4], and others, such as Haitian and Capeverdean, do not seem to undergo a post-creole continuum. This lack of movement toward French, in the case of Haitian, and Portuguese, in the case of Capeverdean, may be due to the radical difference between these two creoles and their respective European donor languages.

Finally, the linguistic phenomenon which traditionally has been labelled pidginization, creolization, decreolization, nativization, de-nativization, post-creole continuum (to mention only a few terms), can be better viewed as follows: the contact of various languages may produce a new experience which in turn seems to fix the parameters of UG, providing a pidgin core grammar. This core grammar is guided by a preference of structure imposed by the markedness theory allowing the learnability condition to operate. The resultant core grammar can later incorporate a marked periphery. The addition of a marked periphery is what had been viewed in the past as creolization.

If one of the donor languages is characterized by structures which meet the learnability criterion, the incorporation of the marked periphery will be directed toward that language. The directionality of the pidgin periphery may then be predicted. However, if none of the languages merits the learnability condition, the pidgin periphery may develop independently of the peripheries of the donor languages.

1.0 Phonology

1.1 Introduction

Although the Capeverdean language has been in existence for at least four centuries, it has been the subject of little and sporadic scientific research. The lack of interest in the Capeverdean language is obviously a reflection of the social stigma attached to it. By and large, Portuguese and Capeverdean scholars have treated the Capeverdean tongue as a dialect of Portuguese not worthy of scientific study.

The first scholarly approach to analyzing the Capeverdean language began with the works of Adolfo Coelho (1878), mainly under the influence of an early enthusiast of pidgin and creole languages, Hugo Schuchardt. The work of Coelho, albeit limited in scope, contributed a great many of insights into the structure of Capeverdean. His efforts also served to awaken the interest of his contemporaries to delve into the nature of Capeverdean speech. Botelho da Costa and Duarte (1886) also published a short descriptive grammar. The format of this work was traditional in its analysis of the linguistic phenomena of Cape Verde, in that the authors described the Capeverdean language within the grammatical Portuguese structure. This resulted in leaving unexplained many linguistic phenomena peculiar to the Capeverdean language. Nevertheless, the data incorporated in the study, especially the writing samples from various islands, are of great value to present researchers. A similar study, written solely in Capeverdean, prescribing the grammatical rules, was published by Paula Brito (1880) and is extremely valuable for the abundance of data it provides. Furthermore, its author was a Capeverdean native speaker from the island of Santiago, with a native speaker's intuition in the analysis of the language.

Unfortunately, these authors had little or no training in linguistics and were highly influenced by their knowledge of the Portuguese language in this description of Capeverdean, a factor definitely disadvantageous to a thorough analysis of this language.

It was not until 1957 that Lopes da Silva, a Capeverdean native with some training in philology, published _O Dialecto Crioulo de Cabo Verde._ This monograph dealt with phonology, morphology and syntax, as well as providing a limited glossary of Capeverdean vocabulary. However, the morphological and syntactical analyses shed no more light on the nature of the language than had the work of Brito almost one hundred years before. The phonological study was more detailed than his predecessors' but, again, the analysis was done from a Portuguese perspective, as Hamilton (1975) has indicated: "In fact, he goes to great lengths in explaining the degree to which crioulo approximates standard Portuguese". The phonetic transcription system used in the book was developed by Professor Sa Nogueira in his text, _Elementos Para um Tratado de Fonetica Portugesa,_ adapted to the Capeverdean language. The major emphasis of this study was to trace phonetic variations from Portuguese to Capeverdean.

Four years later, in 1961, the work of de Oliveira Almada came to light. This study is of less importance and is considerably less scientific in its approach than the work of Lopes da Silva.

Concurrently with the work of de Oliveira Almada, an honor thesis was undertaken at Harvard University on Capeverdean phonology "The Phonologies of the Capeverdean Dialects of Portuguese" by Maria Luisa Nunes (1963). This phonological analysis adopted a more modern descriptive methodology in its treatment of Capeverdean phonetic structures. Nunes' work was honest and informative but, regrettably, not extensive enough to provide a global view of Capeverdean phonological structures and the rules that govern them. The major weakness of this research study, however, is that it followed the trend set by previous researchers in the treatment of the Capeverdean language as just a dialect of Portuguese.

In light of the paucity of scientific analysis of Capeverdean phonology, our study will discuss its phonemic structure, establishing all the phonemes and the allophonic variations in the Capeverdean language. In addition, some fundamental phonological rules will be described.

1.1.1 Methodology

No one specific methodology was followed in this phonemic analysis of the Capeverdean language. Our research drew from various existing methodologies including the approach suggested by Pike (1947), as well as that followed by Sharpe (1973), in her analysis of Alawa Phonology and Grammar. Our study also drew from current theories within the generative-transformational framework ranging from *The Sound Patterns of English* (SPE) by Chomsky and Halle (1968) to the Lexical Phonology as proposed by Kiparsky (1982). We did not encounter any difficulties in our eclectic approach, particularly since the study of phonology is still to date, characterized by many controversies.

The essential goal here was to determine an autonomous phonemic representation of Capeverdean phonology.

The basic thrust was to let the linguistic data dictate its own form of analysis and keep methodological structures from forcing the analysis.

1.1.2 Mode of Analysis

Analysis of phonemes and their allophones was aided by preparing a phone-by-phone coordinance of samples of recorded texts. The distinctive features of the phonemes followed the SPE proposal, albeit modified in some instances to fit the articulatory analysis of our study.

By and large, examples given are transcriptions of the surface forms and these are represented in slant brackets. When underlying forms were discussed they were also represented by slant lines throughout our study. In some cases we adopted the use of the orthagraphic level to facitate our discussions. The allophones are represented in square brackets.

1.1.3 Data Collection

In order to collect the necessary data for the phonological analysis, Capeverdean speakers from different communities in Massachusetts, especially Boston, Brockton and New Bedford, were interviewed in Capeverdean. The data was obtained by the following procedure.

1. A Swadesh list was used with some adaptions to include as many contrasts as possible.
2. Recording elicitation of words and sentences.
3. Recording and transcribing, first monologue, then of conversation.
4. Further elicitation to elucidate common constructions.

In addition, the speech of Macedo, a native speaker of Capeverdean was used.

1.1.4 Segmental Phonemes

In this section, we wanted to give a description of consonant phonemes, a description of vowels, initial, medial and final phonemes, clusters within the syllable, frequency of phonemes and alternations of phonemes.

1.2.1 Vowels

There are a total of five basic oral vowels and a series of allophonic variations in the Capeverdean language. All of these vowels have a nasal counterpart. In other words, there is a set of five oral vowels and a set of five nasal vowels. Table 1.1 depicts the Capeverdean vowel system in terms of three dimensions: that of tongue position (Front, Central, Back), that of tongue height (High, Mid, Low), and that of lip roundness (Round and Unround). This classification will be later changed into a phonetic feature specification given in Table 1.2.

Table 1.1

	Round		Unround
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The list below accounts for the five oral vowels in the Capeverdean language represented in phonemic symbols, with their variations represented in phonetic symbols:

1.2.1.1 /i/ - /iskə/'bait', /pitu/'whistle', /midi/'to measure'

The phoneme /i/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalic} \\ + \text{ high} \\ - \text{ low} \\ - \text{ back} \\ - \text{ round} \\ + \text{ tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The phoneme /i/ undergoes a nasalization process in the environment of nasal consonants as in [ĩ ndə]. (cf. rule 61). The vowel /i/ is also elongated before [+ liquids] as in the examples below:

a) [i:] - [i:rmon] 'brother', [di:lmə] 'proper name'

This phonetic realization of the phoneme /i/ is observed only in the initial and medial positions.

1.2.1.2 /e/ - /eku/'echo', /feru/'iron', /pe/'foot'

The phoneme /e/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ vocalic} \\ - \text{ high} \\ - \text{ low} \\ - \text{ back} \\ - \text{ round} \\ + \text{ tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the initial and medial positions. In the final position it only occurs when it is stressed. When unstressed it becomes /i/. This vowel /e/ is also elongated before [+ liquids]. Some samples are given below:

a) [eː] - [eːrbə]'grass', [peːrnə]'leg'

This phonetic realization of the phoneme /e/ is observed only in the initial and medial positions. Another allophonic variation that we observed is when /e/ becomes [+ lax] in the following environments:

b) [ɛ] - [fɛːrə]'wild animal',[bɛːrə]'lousy'

Such variation is phonemic in only few instances and is not linguistically significant. For example, only these two minimal pairs were found: [fɛːrə]'wild animal', [feːrə]'week days' and [bɛːrə]'lousy',[beːrə]'cliff'. The phoneme /e/ undergoes a nasalization process in the environment of nasal consonants as in [entrə̃]'to enter' (cf. rule 61).

1.2.1.3 /u/ - /ubə/'grape', /bulu/'cattle', /fatu/'suit'

The phoneme /u/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{vocalic} \\ +\ \text{high} \\ -\ \text{low} \\ +\ \text{back} \\ +\ \text{round} \\ +\ \text{tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The phoneme /u/ undergoes a nasalisation process in the environment of nasal consonants as in [ũnde]'where', (cf. rule 61). The vowel /u/ is also elongated before [+ liquids] as represented in the following examples:

a) [u:] - [u:rdinə̄]'to milk a cow', [fu:rtə̄]'to steal'

This allophonic variation of the phoneme /u/, is observed only in the initial and medial positions.

1.2.1.4 /o/ - /orə/'hour', /bolə/'ball', /toto/'proper name'

The phoneme /o/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalic} \\ -\text{ high} \\ -\text{ low} \\ +\text{ back} \\ +\text{ round} \\ +\text{ tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the intial and medial positions. In the final position it only occurs when it is stressed. The phoneme /o/ becomes /u/ in unstressed final position. It also undergoes a nasalization process in the environment of nasal consonants as in [õndə]'wave' (cf. rule 61).

Another allophonic variation that we observed is the lengthening process before [+ liquids] as given below

a) [oː] - [oːrtə]'garden', [boːltə]'turn'

The above allophonic variation of the phoneme /o/ is observed only in the initial and medial positions. The phoneme /o/ also becomes [+ lax] as exemplified in b (cf. rule 78).

b) [fɔǰə]'leave', [lɔžə]'stone'

This allophone is more prevalent in the dialects of Barlavento, particulary those of São Vicente and Santo Antão. In the dialects of Sotavento, especially that of Brava, it is realized as [foj́ə].

1.2.1.5 /a/ - /agu/'water',/kal/'plaster',/pa/'shovel'

The phoneme /a/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ vocalic} \\ -\text{ high} \\ +\text{ low} \\ +\text{ back} \\ -\text{ round} \\ +\text{ tense} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. However, in the final position, it occurs only when it is stressed. The vowel /a/ becomes a schwa in unstressed final position (cf. rule 78). Examples in a) seem to support our observation.

a) [roz]'rose',[ber]'mear'

The phoneme /a/ also undergoes a lengthening process in the environment of [+ liquids] as seen in b:

b) [aː] - [aːltu] 'tall', [maːr] 'sea'

This allophonic variation of the phoneme /a/ is observed in the initial and medial position.

In some cases, the phoneme /a/ is realized as /o/ when the final vowel /u/ is deleted. The examples in c) are illustrative of this phenomenon:

c)

Sotavento	Barlavento	
[atrazu]	[atroz]	'delay'
[arku]	[ork]	'arc'
[branku]	[bronk]	'white'
[stragu]	[strog]	'damage'
[asu]	[os]	'donkey'

The allophone /o/ is prevalent in the Barlavento dialect with the exception of that of Sao Nicolau where the final /u/ is not deleted (Lopes da Silva, 1957). In this dialect, like the ones from Sotavento /a/ remains constant. We are postulating that the underlying representation of the surface form [o] must be the phoneme /a/ since the change from /a/ to [o] is blocked when the word is feminine or is followed by diminutive or augmentative suffixes.

The final class marker vowel /a/ is never deleted, as seen in the following examples:

d)

Sotavento	Barlavento	
[arka]	[arka]	'chest'
[branka]	[branka]	'white'
[aza]	[aza]	'wing'
[straga]	[straga]	'to damage'
[pratinhu]	[pratinhu]	'little dish'
[kazona]	[kazona]	'big house'

We will discuss this allophonic variation in more detail in the phonological processes section.

A similar parallelism was also observed in the alternation between /a/ and /e/ as evidenced below:

e)

Sotavento	Barlavento	
[sidadi]	[sided]	'city'
[idadi]	[ided]	'age'

Table 1.2

Phonetic Segments

Phonetic Features	i	e	a	o	u
High	+	-	-	-	+
Low	-	-	+	-	-
Back	-	-	+	+	+
Round	-	-	-	+	+
Tense	+	+	+	+	+

This allophonic variation was observed only in the dialect of Santo Antão. The vowel /a/ changes to [e] only when the final class marker vowel /i/ is deleted. For instance, if the diminutive suffix *inhu* is added, the change to [e] is blocked as evidenced in *cidadinhu*. We will return to this question later.

1.3.1 Consonants

There are a total of twenty-one consonants and two glides in the Capeverdean language (cf. Table 1.3), and a number of allophonic variations. The list below represents these phonemes and their respective allophones, if any, followed by examples of occurrence in all possible positions:

1.3.1.1 /p/ - /pakoti/'package', /tapu/'cover', /kop/'glass'

The phoneme /p/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ consonantal} \\ -\text{ sonorant} \\ -\text{ continuant} \\ -\text{ voiced} \\ +\text{ anterior} \\ -\text{ coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /p/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions. Its occurrence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of São Vicente and Santo Antão. The dialects of Sotavento follow more strictly a CVCV pattern as seen in the examples below.

a) Sotavento	b) Barlavento	
tapu	top	'cover'
kopu	kop	'glass'
fepu	fep	'all'

The phonetic realization below represents the allophonic variation of the phoneme /p/.

c) $[p^{h}]$ - $[p^{h}\text{on}]$'bread'

The aspirated [p] has a very high frequency rate of occurrence in the Capeverdean language. It occurs in the initial position in the dialects of Barlavento and the dialects of Sotavento.

1.3.1.2 /b/ - /bakə/'cow',/kobə/'grave',/dab/'give you'

The phoneme /b/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /b/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurrence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of São Vicente and Santo Antão. Again, this is true due to the prevalence of the CVCV pattern in the dialects of Sotavento. In these dialects, the phoneme /b/ occurs only in the initial and medial positions as observed in the contrasts given in a).

a) Sotavento	b) Barlavento	
dabu	dab	'give you'
kabu	kob	'place'

1.3.1.3 /m/ - /mal /'trunk',/kamə/'bed',/bem/'come'

The phoneme /m/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ consonantal} \\ +\text{ sonorant} \\ -\text{ continuant} \\ +\text{ voiced} \\ +\text{ anterior} \\ -\text{ coronal} \\ +\text{ nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /m/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

1.3.1.4 /t/ - /tudu/'all',/boti/'boat',/bnit/'pretty'

The phoneme /t/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ consonantal} \\ \text{- sonorant} \\ \text{- continuant} \\ \text{- voiced} \\ \text{+ anterior} \\ \text{+ coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /t/ occurs in the initial, medial, and final positions, Its occurence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of Sao Vicente and Santo Antao. In the dialects of Sotovento it occurs in the initial and medial positions. The phonetic realizations below represent the allophonic variation of the phoneme /t/:

a) [t^h] - [t^{h}o:rtə]

Another allophonic variation of the phoneme /t/ is the retroflex [ț] which is specific to the dialects of Fogo and Santiago as seen in b) in the initial position only.

b) [ț] - [tudu] 'all'

1.3.1.5. /d/ - /dadu/ 'dice', /ladu/ 'side', /fčəd/ 'closed'

The phoneme /d/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ consonantal} \\ \text{- sonorant} \\ \text{- continuant} \\ \text{+ voiced} \\ \text{+ anterior} \\ \text{- coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language.

The phoneme /d/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of Sao Vicente and Santo Antao. In the dialects of Sotavento it occurs in the initial and medial positions for the same reason stated in 1.3.1.2. The phonetic realization below represents the allophonic variation of the phoneme /d/:

[d̦] - [dubə̄] 'let's go'

The retroflex [d̦] is specific to the dialects of Fogo and Santiago.

1.3.1.6 /n/ - /nadə/ 'nothing', /kanə/ 'cane', /ton/ 'tune'

The phoneme /n/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ +\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \\ +\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /n/ occurs in the inital, medial, and final positions.

1.3.1.7 /k/ -/ketu/ 'quiet', /fakə/ 'knife', /mok/ 'drunk'

The phoneme /k/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ -\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /k/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of Sao Vicente and Santo Antao. In the dialects of Sotavento it occurs in the initial and medial positions. The phonetic realizations below represent the allophonic variation of the phoneme /k/:

[k^h] - [k^ha:rtə] 'letter'

The aspirated [k^h] occurs in the initial position in all dialects of the Capeverdean language.

1.3.1.8 /g/-/galu/'rooster',/lagostə/'lobster',/fog/'fire'

The phoneme /g/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ consonantal} \\ \text{- sonorant} \\ \text{- continuant} \\ \text{+ voiced} \\ \text{- anterior} \\ \text{- coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /g/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurrence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of São Vicente and Santo Antão. In the dialects of Sotavento it occurs in the initial and medial positions for the same reason stated in 1.3.1.1.

1.3.1.9 /ñ/ - /ño/'sir',/kañotu/'pipe'

The phoneme /ñ/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ +\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ +\ \text{coronal} \\ +\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /ñ/ occurs in the initial and medial positions only.

1.3.1.10 /f/ - /fakə/'knife', /bafə̃/'to cover', /bof/ 'intestine'

The phoneme /f/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuent} \\ -\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /f/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of São Vicente and Santo Antão. In the dialects of Sotavento it occurs in the initial and medial positions for the same reason stated in 1.3.1.1.

1.3.1.11 /v/ - /vidru/'glass',/divan/'couch',/pov/'people'

The phoneme /v/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /v/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its occurence in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of Sao Vicente and Santo Antao. In the dialects of Sotavento it occurs in the initial and medial positions for the same reason stated in 1.3.1.1. The phoneme /v/ usually is realized as /b/ in the Sotavento dialects as evidenced in a):

a) Sotavento	Barlavento	
/bidə /	/vidə /	'life'
/bidru/ (Fogo only)	/vidru/	'glass'
/bakə /	/vakə/	'cow'

1.3.1.12 /s/ - /sapu/'frog',/pasu/'bird',/piscos/'neck

The phoneme /s/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{ consonantal} \\ -\text{ sonorant} \\ +\text{ continuant} \\ -\text{ voiced} \\ +\text{ anterior} \\ +\text{ coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /s/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in all dialects of the Capeverdean language.

In the dialects of Barlavento it is usually realized as [s] in the following positions.

a) In the initial position when followed by a consonant:

[škrav]	'slave'
[študant]	'student'
[šgotə]	'to dry out'

b) In the medial position is closed syllables followed by a consonant:

[vešti]	'to dress up'
[gošt]	'taste'
[paštə]	'briefcase'

c) In the final position when proceeded by a vowel:

[ložaš]	'stones'
[genteš]	'people'
[m ǰereš]	'women'

1.3.13 /z/ - /zelu/'zeal',/azul/'blue',/doz/'twelve'

The phoneme /z/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{ consonantal} \\ -\text{ sonorant} \\ +\text{ continuant} \\ +\text{ voiced} \\ +\text{ anterior} \\ +\text{ coronal} \end{array}\right]$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /z/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in the dialects of Barlavento as well as Sotavento.

1.3.1.14 /š/ - /šarutu/'cigar',/tašu/'portion',/peš/'fish'

The phoneme /š/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{ consonantal} \\ -\text{ sonorant} \\ +\text{ continuant} \\ -\text{voiced} \\ -\text{ anterior} \\ +\text{ coronal} \end{array}\right]$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /š/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions in all dialects of the Capeverdean language.

1.3.1.15 /ž/ - /žanotə/'well-dressed',/ložə/'store',/vež/'turn'

The phoneme /ž/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} +\text{ consonantal} \\ -\text{ sonorant} \\ +\text{ continuant} \\ +\text{ voiced} \\ -\text{ anterior} \\ +\text{ coronal} \end{array}\right]$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language.

The phoneme /ž/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. It is sometimes velarized in the dialects of Fogo and Santiago:

a) Sotavento	Barlavento	
[genti] (Fogo, Santiago)	[žent]	'people'

1.3.1.16 /č/ - /čeu/'a lot',/kačupə/'name of food',/ponč/'a drink'

The phoneme /č/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ -\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ +\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /č/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. It is realized as [š] in the Barlavento dialects as evidenced in a):

a) Sotavento	Barlavento	
[čabi]	[šav]	'key'
[čubə]	[šuvə]	'rain'
[čapeu]	[šapeu]	'hat'

1.3.1.17 /ǰ/ - /ǰeu/'islet',/aǰu/'garlic',/lonǰ/'far'

The phoneme /ǰ/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{sonorant} \\ -\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ +\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /ǰ/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions only in the dialects of Sotavento. Its occurrence in the dialects of Barlavento is observed in the intial and medial positions.

The phonetic realization represented in a) is the allophonic variation of the phoneme /ǰ/. Its occurrence is observed only in the final position in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly those of Santo Antão and São Vicente.

a) [y] - [trabɔy]`work'

In the dialects of Barlavento /ǰ/ is sometimes realized as /ž/ as illustrated in b):

b) Sotavento	Barlavento	
[ǰetu]	[žet]	'ability'
[ǰanelə]	[žanelə]	'windows'

1.3.1.18 /l/ - /latə/'can',/kolə/'glue',/mel/'honey'

The phoneme /l/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ +\ \text{sonorant} \\ +\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ +\ \text{anterior} \\ +\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /l/ occurs in the initial, medial and final position in all dialects. In the dialect of Santiago /l/ is sometimes realized as [y] as evidenced in [aymə] 'soul'.

1.3.1.19 /l̦/ - /pil̦ə / 'battery'

The phoneme /l̦/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ consonantal} \\ \text{+ sonorant} \\ \text{+ continuant} \\ \text{+ voiced} \\ \text{- anterior} \\ \text{+ coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

The phoneme /l̦/ occurs only in the medial position. Its occurrence is generally infrequent and is prevalent in the lexical items which are directly borrowed from Portuguese. By and large, the /l̦/ in Portuguese borrowed words is changed to /ǰ/, particulary in the dialects of Sotavento.

1.3.1.20 /r/ - /karə/'face',/mar/'sea'

The phoneme /r/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{+ consonantal} \\ \text{+ sonorant} \\ \text{+ continuant} \\ \text{+ voiced} \\ \text{+ anterior} \\ \text{+ coronal} \\ \text{+ lateral} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language, The phoneme /r/ occurs mainly in the medial and final position. However, in the dialect of Santiago it occurs in the initial position: /rabu/ 'tail'. In the island of Brava, this same word is realizaed as /Rabu/. In some dialects of Sotavento, /r/ is sometimes realized as /l/ as in [platu] instead of [pratu] 'dish'.

1.3.1.21 /R/ - /Ropa/'clothes',/kaRu/'car'

The phoneme /R/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\ \text{consonantal} \\ +\ \text{sonorant} \\ +\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language except in Santiago where the trill is +alveolar rather than +velar. The phoneme /R/ occurs in the initial and medial positions.

1.3.1.22 /y/ - /yati/'yat',/yaya/'propername'

The phoneme /y/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\ \text{consonantal} \\ -\ \text{syllabic} \\ +\ \text{continuant} \\ +\ \text{voiced} \\ -\ \text{anterior} \\ -\ \text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. The phoneme /y/ appears in all positions except the final position and before consonants. It has a low frequency rate of occurrence and it mainly appears in foreign or borrowed words.

1.3.1.23 /w/ - /wa/'exclamation',/wawa/'proper name'

The phoneme /w/ has the following distinctive features:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonantal} \\ -\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{continuant} \\ +\text{voiced} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

It remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. Like /y/, the phoneme /w/ appears in all positions, except the final position and before consonants. It also has a very low frequency rate of occurrence and it occurs in foreign and borrowed words.

Table 1.3

Phonetic Segments

Phonetic Features	p	b	m	t	d	n	k	g	ñ	f	v	s	z	š	ž	č	ǰ	l	ḷ	r	R	y	w
Consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
Sonorant	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Voiced	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Aspirated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nasal	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anterior	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Coronal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-

2.4 Syllable Structure

The following combination of phonemes represents the Capeverdean syllable structure:

Combination of Phonemes	Examples	
V	/o/	'or'
VV	/ai/	'ouch'
VC	/ar/	'air'
VCC	/alt/	'tall'
CV	/di/	'of'
CVC	/pok/	'little'
CVCC	/kant/	'corner'
CVV	/čeu/	'a lot'
CCCVC	/skrit/	'written'
CCVV	/sbai/	'melt'
CCVCV	/trošə/	'load'
CVCCV	/lapsu/	'lapse'
CVCV	/latə/	'can'

Of the syllable-structure represented in the examples given above, the V, VC, CV, CVC, CVCV occur most frequently.

2.5.1 Consonant Clusters

There are a fair number of consonant clusters that occur in the Capeverdean language. A higher frequency rate of consonant clusters is observed in the initial position. Many of these clusters also occur in the medial position. In the final position, consonant clusters are much less frequent and are restricted mostly to the dialects of Barlavento, the reason being that the syllable strucure in the dialects of Sotavento follows more a CVCV pattern.

2.5.1.1 Voiceless stop plus liquid /r/

Initial position	Examples	
/pr/	/pratu/	'plate'
/tr/	/tripə/	'gut'
/kr/	/lakri/	'lack'

2.5.1.2 Voiced stop plus liquid /r/

Initial position	Examples	
/br/	/branku/	'white'
/dr/	/dramə/	'drama'
/gr/	/grandi/	'big'
Medial position		
/br/	/kabrə/	'goat'
/dr/	/ladrə̄/	'to bark'
/gr/	/agradə̄/	'to please'

2.5.1.3 Voiceless stop plus liquid /l/

Initial position		
/pl/	/plantə/	'plant'
/kl/	/klaru/	'clear'

2.5.1.4 Voiced stop plus liquid /l/

Initial position		
/bl/	/bla/	'proper name'
/gl/	/globu/	'globe'
Medial position		
/gl/	/nglobə̄/	'to englobe'

2.5.1.5 Voiceless stop plus fricative /z/

Initial position Examples

/pz/	/pzəd/	'heavy'
/tz/	/tzorə/	'scissors'
/kz/	/kzid/	'cooked'

2.5.1.6 Voiced stop plus fricative /z/

Initial position

/bz/	/bziə̄/	'to look'
/dz/	/dzē/	'to say'

These occur in the dialects of Barlavento only.

2.5.1.7 Voiceless stop plus fricative /s/

Initial position

/ts/	/tsid/	'cloth'

This cluster occurs in the dialects of Barlavento only.

Final position

/ts/	/bzots/	'you'(plural)

The combination of voiceless stops plus sibilant /s/ occurs only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly that of São Vicente.

2.5.1.8 Voiceless stop plus stop /p/

Initial position

/kp/	/kpəd/	'occupied'

Observed only in the Barlavento dialects.

2.5.1.9 Voiced stop plus stop /t/

Initial position

/bt/	/btə̄/	to throw'

2.5.1.10 Voiced stop plus fricative /f/

Initial position		
/gf/	/gfong/	'corn bread'

Only occurs in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.11 Fricative /f/ plus liquid /r/

Initial position	Examples	
/fr/	/frə/	'to say'
Medial position		
/fr/	/nfrentə/	'to confront'

2.5.1.12 Fricative /f/ plus liquid /l/

Initial position		
/fl/	/flor/	'flower'
Medial position		
/fl/	/disflorə/	'deflower'

2.5.1.13 Fricative /f/ plus fricative /ǰ/

Initial position		
/fǰ/	/fǰəd/	'godchild'

This cluster is observed only in the Barlavento dialects. In Sotavento /fǰəd/ is relaized as /fiǰadu/.

2.5.1.14 Fricative /f/ plus fricative /č/

Initial position		
/fč/	/fč /	'to close'
Medial position		
/fč/	/dšfčə̄/	'to open'

Again, this cluster is not possible in the Sotavento dialects for the some reason given 2.5.1.12.

2.5.1.15 Fricative /s/ plus voiceless stop

Initial position

/sp/	/spiə̄/	'to see'
/st/	/studə̄/	'to study'
/sk/	/skiə̄/	'to ski'

These clusters appear only in the Sotavento dialects. In Barlavento /š/ is always palatalized in the initial position.

2.5.1.16 Fricative /s/ plus voiced stop

Initial position

/sb/	/sbanžə̄/	'to spill'
/sd/	/sdretə̄/	'right'
/sg/	/sgrelə̄/	'scrape'

Like the clusters in 2.5.1.14, /s/ is also palatalized in Barlavento dialects.

2.5.1.17 Nasal plus voiceless stop

Initial position

/mp/	/mpo/	'what's up'
/nt/	/ntentə̄/	'to tease'
/nk/	/nkaǰə̄/	'to ground'

Final position

/mp/	/limp/	'clean'
/nt/	/pent/	'comb'

/nk/	/bank/	'bank'

The occurrence of these clusters in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly that of Sao Vicente. The reason being that in Sotavento the syllable structure follows more rigidly a CVCV pattern.

2.5.1.18 Nasal plus voiced stop

Initial position

/mb/	/mbarkə̄/	'to embarque'
/nd/	/ndagə̄/	'to investigate'
/ŋg/	/ŋgañə/	'to fool'

Final position

/mb/	/lomb/	'back'
/nd/	/lind/	'pretty'
/ŋg/	/gfoŋg/	'corn meal'

The occurrence of these clusters in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento, mainly that of São Vicente for the same reason stated in 2.5.1.13.

2.5.1.19 Nasal plus fricative /f/

Initial position

/nf/	/nfadə̄/	'to bore'

2.5.1.20 Nasal plus fricative /s/

Final position

/ns/	/lens/	'handkerchiefs'

This occurrence is observed in the dialects of Barlavento only (See 2.5.1.13).

2.5.1.21 Nasal plus fricative /z/

Initial position	Examples	
/nz/	/nzedə̄/	'to go sour'
Final position		
/nz/	/onz/	'eleven'

This cluster occurs only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.22 Nasal plus fricative /š/

Initial position		
/nš/	/nšutu/	'dry'
Final position		
/nš/	/lanš/	'lunch'

2.5.1.23 Nasal plus fricative /ž/

Initial position		
/nž/	/nžanotə̄/	'to dress up'
Final position		
/nž/	/lonž/	'far'

This cluster occurs only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.24 Liquid /r/ plus voiceless stop

Final position		
/rt/	/pert/	'near'
/rk/	/pork/	'pork'

This cluster occurs in the final position only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.25 Liquid /r/ plus voiced stop

Medial position

/rb/	/kurbə/	'curve'
/rd/	/lurds/	'proper name'
/rg/	/l org/	'large'

2.5.1.26 Liquid /l/ plus voiceless stop

Medial position

/lp/	/palpə̄/	'to touch'
/lt/	/alturə/	'height'
/lk/	/kalkə̄/	'to step on'

2.5.1.27 Liquid /l/ plus voiced stop

Final position

/ld/	/kald/	'chowder'
/lg/	/folg/	'breath'

These two clusters only occur in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.28 Liquid /r/ plus fricative /v/

Final position

/rv/	/korv/	'crow'

The occurrence of this cluster in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.29 Liquid /r/ plus fricative /f/

Initial position

/rf/	/rfnə̄ /	'to throw'

Final position

/rf/	/gɔrf/	'fork'

This cluster only occurs in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.30 Liquid /r/ plus fricative /s/

Final position

/rs/	/bers/	'craddle'

The occurrence of this cluster in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.31 Liquid /r/ plus nasal /n/

Final position

/rn/	/karn/	'meat'

This last cluster only occurs in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.5.1.32 Liquid /r/ plus nasal /m/

Initial position

/rm/	/rmə̄ /	'to arrange'

Final position

/rm/	/konform/	'depending'

The occurrence of this cluster in the final position is observed only in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.6 Vowel Clusters

The following list represents a number of vowel clusters which occur in the initial, medial and final position in the Capeverdean language.

Intitial position	Examples	
/ia/	/iati/	'yatch'
/io/	/ioland/	'proper name'
/oi/	/oitu/	'eight'
/ai/	/ai/	'ouch'
/eu/	/euženu/	'proper name'
/ui/	/ui/	'ouch'
/ua/	/ua/	'wow'
Medial position		
/ia/	/piadə /	'funny'
/iu/	/piʊgə /	'socks'
/io/	/pioǰu/	'lice'
/ea/	/meadu/	'middle'
/oi/	/koitadu/	'poor'
/ai/	/baiñə̄ /	'hem'
/ae/	/pael/	'for him'
/au/	/kauzə /	'cause'
/ui/	/muidu/	'ground'
/ue/	/kuekə /	'underwear'
/ua/	/bʊatu/	'rumor'

Final position

/ia /	/yaya /	'proper name'
/iu/	/tiu/	'uncle'
/io/	/lio/	'here'
/eu/	/pneu/	'tire'
/ea/	/mea/	'socks'
/ei/	/tei/	'proper name'
/ai/	/kai/	'proper name'
/au/	/kau/	'proper name'
/ui/	/rui/	'proper name'

2.7.1 Vowel Alternations

There are a number of vowel alternations in the Capeverdean language. They occur across and within dialects. The section that follow represent the occurrences of these alternations.

2.7.1.1 /i/ ~ /u/ - /primeru/~/prumer/'first'

The vowel /i/ remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language with the exception of the dialect of Fogo where /i/, when unstressed, alternates with /u/ in the medial position. The alternation between /i/ and /u/ is also observed in the dialect of São Vicente in medial position in the following example: /tribuladu/ ~ /trubulode/. However, this last occurrence is the only one observed in that dialect, Lopes da Silva (1957). Other examples:

/supnione/ ~ /sipnianu/	'proper name'
/suma/ ~ /sima/	'lice'
/buznet/ ~ /bisnetu/	'great grandchild'

The /ʉ/ is realized mostly in Barlavento while /i/ is more prominent in Sotavento. The alternation between /i/ ~/u/ appears to be the result of vowel harmony.

2.7.1.2 /i/~/a/ - /irmon/ ~ /armon/'brother',/litigə̄/ ~/latigə̄/ 'to struggle'.

The vowel /i/ remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language. In the dialects of Fogo, /i/ sometimes alternates with /a/ in the initial and medial positions. The free alternation between /i/ and /a/ is also observed in the initial position in the island of São Vicente but only in the examples given above.

2.7.1.3 /u/ ~ /ə/ - /agu/ ~ /agə/'water'

The vowel /u/ remains constant in all dialects of the Capeverdean language with the exception of the dialects of Barlavento, where /u/ when unstressed in the final position alternates with /ə/ in some instances. In the case of /agu/ ~ /agə /'water', the alternation may be attributable to the fact that the etymological root of the word of the Portuguese /agua/. It could be that in Barlavento, speakers adopted the final phoneme /ə/ whereas in Sotavento they adopted /u/.

2.7.1.4 /e/ ~ /i/ - /pedi/ ~ /pidi/'to ask',/de/ ~ /di/'of'

The vowel /e / remains constant in all dialects of Barlavento. In the dialects of Sotavento /e/ alternates with /i/ in the medial and final positions in some instances.

2.7.1.5 /e/ ~ /u/ - /fermingə /~ /furmingə /'ant',
/kobarde/ ~ /kobardu/'coward'

The vowel /e/ alternates with /u/ across dialects in the Capeverdean language. The vowel /e / is usually realized in the dialects of Barlavento whereas in the dialects of Sotavento /u/ is realized in the medial and final positions.

2.7.1.6 /e/ ~ /ə/ - /kobardise/ ~ /kobardisə/'cowardice'

The vowel /e/ alternates with /ə/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the final unstressed position. Lopes da Silva (1957) suggested that in this position such occurrence is frequent.

2.7.1.7 /o/ ~ /u/ - /kosə/ ~ /kusə/'thing',/bo/ ~/bu/'you'

The vowel /o/ alternates with /u/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the medial and final positions. Such occurrences are much more frequent in the dialects of Sotavento where the vowel /o/ is almost always realized as /u/ in these positions when unstressed. Unstressed mid vowels in the final position always become [+ high] in Sotavento dialects. In Barlavento, they are usually deleted.

2.7.1.8 /a/ ~ /i/ - /ta/ ~ /ti/ 'verb particle'

The vowel /a/ alternates with /i/ between dialects of Barlavento and Sotavento in the final position. The vowel /a/ remains constant in the dialects of Sotavento whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /a/ is realized as /i/ in some instances.

2.7.1.9 /a / ~ /o/ - /bazadu/ ~ /bazod/'spilled'

The vowel /a/ alternates with /o/ between dialects of Sotavento and Barlavento. The vowel /a/ remains constant in the dialects of Sotavento whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /a/ is realized as /o/ in the mid position in some instances only when the final vowel drops. We believe that this alternation is triggered by a vowel harmony rule. We will discuss this point in more detail in section 3.0.

2.7.1.10 /a / ~ /u/ - /batizə̄/ ~ /butzə̄/'baptize'

The vowel /a/ alternates with /u/ between dialects of Barlavento and Sotavento. The vowel /a/ remains constant in the dialects of Sotavento whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /a/ is realized as /u/ in the medial position in some instances.

2.7.1.11 /a/ ~ /e/ - /idadi/ ~ /ided/'age'

The vowel /a/ alternates with /e/ is observed in the dialect of Santo Antão. In the other dialects /a/ remains constant whereas in the dialect of Santo Antão, /a/ is realized as /e/ in the medial position, when the final vowel is deleted.

This alternation is governed by the same principle observed in /a/ ~/o/.

2.7.1.12 /a/ ~ /i/ - /ãntigu/ ~ /ĩntigu/'antique'

The vowel /a/ alternates with /i/ between dialects of Barlavento and Sotavento. In the dialects of Sotavento the vowel /a/ remains constant whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /a/ is realized as /i/ in the initial position in certain instances.

2.8.1 Consonant Alternations

There are a number of consonant alternations in the Capeverdean language. They occur across and within dialects. The sections that follow represent the occurrences of these alternations.

2.8.1.1 /b/ ~ /v/ - /vakə/ ~ /bakə/'cow',/kabalu/ ~ /kavale/'horse'

The consonant /b/ alternates with /v/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the initial and medial position. However, this alternation is more prevalent in the dialects of Barlavento.

2.8.1.2 /b/ ~ /g/ - /tabuadə/ ~ /taguadə/'math table'

The consonant /b/ alternates with /g/ in the dialects of Sotavento, mainly those of Brava and Fogo.

2.8.1.3 /b/ ~/p/ - /botə̄ / ~ /ptə̄ /'to throw',/reb tə̄/ ~ /ruptə̄/ 'snatch'

The consonant /b/ alternates with /p/ in the dialects of Barlavento in the initial and medial positions. When the vowel is deleted, /b/ assimilates to the consonant next to it.

2.8.1.4 /d/ ~/t/ - /dekai/ ~/tkai/'go down',/gradise/ ~ /gratse/ 'to thank'

The consonant /d/ alternates with /t/ between dialects of Barlavento and Sotavento. The consonant /d/ remains constant in the dialects of Sotavento whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /d/ is realized as /t/ in the initial and medial positions, when the vowel separating it from /t/ is deleted.

2.8.1.5 /d/ ~ /r/ - /sabadu/ ~ /sabru/'Saturday'

The consonant /d/ alternates with /r/ in the dialects of Sotavento in the medial position. According to Lopes da Silva (1957) such occurrence is observed only in the dialects of Fogo and Santiago. However, our data did not have this occurrence. In both dialects speakers either pronounced /sabadu/ or /sandu/.

2.8.1.6 /d/ ~ /ǰ/ - /diunizu/ ~ /ǰunize/'proper name'

The consonant /d/ alternates with /ǰ/ in the dialects of São Nicolau, Brava and Fogo in the initial and medial positions. According to Lopes da Silva (1957) the only examples of this alternation are /diunizio/~/ǰunize/ in São Nicolau, and alternation are /diunizio/~/ǰunize/ in São Nicolau, and /soroue/~/soraǰu/ in the island of Fogo. However, /soroǰu/ is also observed in the island of Brava according to our data.

2.8.1.7 /d/ ~ /l/ - /diə di festə/ ~/dial festə/'day of feast'

The consonant /d/ alternates with /l/ in the dialects of Fogo and Santiago. Such occurrence is observed only in word juncture.

2.8.1.8 /k/ ~ /g/ - /kosgə/~/gosgə/'ticklish',/muzzikə /~ /muzgə / 'music'

The consonant /k/ alternates with /g/ across and within dialects in the initial and medial positions. Such occurrences are observed only in sporadic cases.

2.8.1.9 /k/ ~ /č/ - /kent / ~ /čent /'to heat',/roke/ ~ /roče/

The consonant /k/ alternates with /c/ in the dialects of São Nicolau and Boa Vista in the initial and medial positions. This observation was made by Lopes da Silva (1957), (he represented /č/ as /x/ in his transcription). We were not able to prove the validity of his claim with the data we collected.

2.8.1.10 /s/ ~ /r/ - /losnə/ ~/lornə/'name of plant'

The consonant /s/ alternates with /r/ in the dialect of Fogo in the medial position. Such occurrence is very rare and the only other case observed is /tisnə/~/tirnə/ cited by Lopes da Silva (1957).

2.8.1.11 /s/~/š/ - /skolə /~ /školə /'school',/pastə/~/paštə/ 'briefcase',/kais/ ~/kaiš/'dock'

The consonant /s/ alternates with /š/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the initial and medial positions. The consonant /š/ is more prevalent in the dialects of Barlavento whereas /s/ is predominant of the dialects of Sotavento. In the speech of the educated class /š/ has a higher rate of frequency due to the influence of the Portuguese language.

2.8.1.12 /g/ ~ /ǰ/ - /gerə/ ~ /ǰerə/'war',/sange/ ~ /sanǰe/'blood'

The consonant /g/ alternates with /ǰ/ in the dialect of São Nicolau in the initial and medial positions. Lopes da Silva (1957) observed that this phenomenon also occurs in the dialect of Boa Vista but is much less frequent.

2.8.1.13 /g/ ~ /k/ - /gafanotu/ ~ /kafanotu/'grasshopper',/ngostə̄/ ~ /nkostə̄/'to lean '

The consonant /g/ alternates with /k/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the initial and medial positions.

2.8.1.14 /š/ ~ /č/ - /šapeu/ ~ /čapeu/'hat',/nšid/ ~ /nčidu/'full'

The consonant /š/ alternates with /č/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language. The occurrence of /š/ is more prevalent in the dialects of Barlavento whereas in the dialects of Sotavento /č/ occurs more frequently. In the speech of the educated class /š/ predominates due to the Portuguese influence.

2.8.1.15 /ž/ ~ /d/ - /žueļu/ ~ /dueǰu/'knee'

The consonant /ž/ alternates with /d/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the initial position. The occurrence of /ž/ is more prevalent in the dialects of Barlavento whereas /d/ occurs more frequently in the dialects of Sotavento. The consonant /ž/ predominates also in the speech of the educated class.

2.8.1.16 /ǰ/ ~ /ž/ - /ǰogu/ ~ /žog /'game',/lõnǰi/~/lõnž/'far'

The consonant /ǰ/ alternates with /ž/ across and within the dialects of the Capeverdean language in the initial and medial positions. The occurrence of /ǰ/ is more prevalent in the dialects of Sotavento whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /ž/ occurs more frequently. The consonant /ž/ predominates also in the speech of the educated class.

2.8.1.17 /ǰ/ ~ /g/ - /ǰenti/ ~ /genti/'people'

The consonant /ǰ/ alternates with /g/ in the dialect of Fogo in the initial position.

2.8.1.18 /l/ ~ /r/ - /flə̄/ ~ /frə̄/'to say'

The consonant /l/ alternates with /r/ across and within the dialects of Sotavento in the medial position. According to Lopes da Silva (1957) this occurrence is also observed in the dialect of Sao Nicolau in the medial position, e.g. /klarə /~/krar/ 'light'.

2.8.1.19 /l/ ~ /y/ - /almə/ ~ /aymə/'soul'

The consonant /l/ alternates with /y/ in the dialects of Santiago in the medial position.

2.8.1.20 /l/ ~ /d/ - /largə̄/ ~ /dargə̄/'to let go'

The consonant /l/ alternates with /d/ across and within the dialects of Sotavento in the initial position. Such occurrence is observed in the dialect of São Nicolau.

2.8.1.21 /l̦/ ~ /ǰ/ - /ilə/ ~/iǰə/'island'

The consonant /l̦/ alternates with /ǰ/ across and within the dialects of Sotavento in the medial position. In the dialect of Santo Antão /l̦/ alternates with the allophonic variation of /ǰ/: [y] in the same position, e.g. [trabal̦u] ~ [trabaǰu] ~ [trabɔy].

2.8.1.22 /r/ ~ /l/ - /purguntə̄/~/pulguntə̄/'to ask'

The consonant /r/ alternates with /l/ in the dialects of Santiago and Fogo in the medial position.

2.8.1.23 /r/~/d/ - /Rabirə̄/~/Rabidə̄/'to turn over'

The consonant /r/ alternates with /d/ in the dialects of Santiago and Fogo in the medial position.

2.8.1.24 /r/~ /i/ - /barbanti/ ~ /baibanti/'type of plant', /kačor/ ~/kačoi/'dog'

The consonant /r/ alternates with /i/ in the dialects of Santiago and Fogo. However, such occurrences are observed in sporadic cases only.

2.8.1.25 /R/ ~/r/ - /Rabu/ ~ /rabu/'tail',/moRē/ ~ /morē/'die'

The consonant /R/ alternates with /r/ across and within dialects in the Capeverdean language in the initial position. In the medial position, the occurrence of /r/ between vowels is observed only in the dialects of Santiago and Fogo.

3.0 Phonological Processes

3.1 The Capeverdean Diminutives

The Capeverdean diminutives have been characterized by the attachment of suffixes *inhu(a)*, *itu(a)*, *uchu(a)* to nouns and adjectives. By far, the *inhu(a)* suffixes are the most productive. Productivity is treated here with the same theoretical status as discussed in Aronoff (1983). We will consider *inhu(a)* as the most productive diminutive suffixes in Capeverdean. The *itu(a)*, *uchu(a)* will not be discussed here.

Traditionally, the straightforward rule for the diminutive formation in Capeverdean is as follows:

(1) Attach the *inhu* to masculine forms, and *inha* to feminine forms.

We are assuming that rule (1) will correctly generate the forms in (2)[1]:

gordu	gurdinhu	(little fat one)
pretu	pritinhu	(little black one)
capa	capinha	(little cover)

As was observed in the data given in (2) the final vowel in *gordu*, *pretu*, *capa* was deleted before the application of rule (1). Thus, before rule (1) can apply, rule (3), which deletes the final vowel of the words, must apply first.

(3) $V \quad 0 / - \#$

Rule (3) makes it possible for rule (1) to apply without generating ungrammatical forms such as **gorduinhu*.

Another proposal we could entertain is that the final vowel of the word is shifted to the rightmost position after the infixation of inh. This can be easily refuted since words that do not end in a vowel require that inh takes a final vowel u or a, as in (4):

(4)	mudger	mudgerinha	(little women)
	dotor	duturinhu	(little doctor)

A further evidence which contradicts the above proposal is found in words which end in i which require the affixation of the final vowels u or a to inh:

(5)	penti	pintinhu	(little comb)
	boti	butinhu	(little boat)

We must also note that rule (3) is not an independent rule and is intimately associated with rule (1). Otherwise, it would generate forms which contradict the general pattern of Capeverdean singulars, most of which are of the CVCV nature[2]. Evidence from Spanish and Portuguese seems to support our assumption. Roca (1983) concludes that the deletion rule (3) must be obligatorily followed by the diminutive formation rule as stated in (1), to avoid the erasure of final vowels which characterize all Spanish singulars.

Thus far, we have observed that the diminutive formation requires the following operations: a) final vowel deletion from the stem, b) inh infixation, and c) attachment of u or a to the right of inh.

(6) word -- gordu
vowel deletion -- gord
inh infixation -- gurd+inh
u/a insertion -- gurd+inh+u/a

The operations in (6) leave many problems unresolved, to which we shall return later.

However, the proposal in (6) is embraced by Maia (1981) in her discussion of Portuguese diminutives. Maia's proposal treats *inho* (o = [u]) as a word and assumes that the initial WFR generates a compound formed with two types of words. One has the stress pattern and the morphological structure of a compound; while the other incorporates *inh* as an infix to the outermost stem. She argues that in addition to bearing stress on both constituents, these words also resemble noun phrases in that they show internal agreement for gender and number. She gives the following examples:

(7)

(a) *True compounds*

Singular	Plural	
òbra-pr'ima	òbras-pr'imas	(masterpiece(s))
amòr-perf'eito	amòres-perf'eitos	(pansy(ies))
tèrça-f'eira	tèrças-f'eiras	(Tuesday(s))

(b) *Diminutives*

Singular	Plural	
menìnaz'inha	menìnaz'inhas	(little girl(s))

menìnoz'inho	menìnoz'inhos	(little boy(s))
leãoz'inho	leõez'inhos	(little lion(s))
leòaz'inha	leòaz'inhas	(little lioness(es))

Gender is determined by /o/ which attaches to *inh* if the word is masculine and by /a/ if the word is feminine. Number agreement is not relevant for our discussion since Capeverdean pluralization does not require number agreement. In the use of Portuguese diminutive formation, the claim is that number agreement is opaque due to the infixation of /z/ in the singular. The conditions which motivate /z/ insertion remain inexplicable. We will attempt to clarify this point as we proceed with our discussion. Another important point but also unsatisfactorily explained by Maia (1981) is the words that end in final vowel /e/ and are unmarked for gender. We reproduce her examples that show that only /o/ or /a/ can be affixed to *inh*:

(8)

d'ente (masc.) 'tooth'	dentez'inh 'little tooth'
p'onte (fem.) 'bridge'	pontez'inha 'little bridge'
d'oente (masc. fem.) 'patient'	doentez'inho(a) 'little patient'

The infixation of /z/ above is blocked in Capeverdean, generating the forms *dintinhu*, *puntinhu*, and *duentinhu(a)*. Maia accounts for the fact that /e/ does not attach to *inh* by proposing a vowel deletion rule to be applied in the diminutive formation process. However, she fails to differentiate between words ending in /e/ that maintain it in the final position such as *cafe* (coffee). We will later argue that the final vowel /e/ in *cafe* and *pente* are different and trigger different rule application at different levels.

Let us now consider Maia's proposal for Portuguese diminutive formation given in

(9) $$[[X]]_{ST}\,pl] \Longrightarrow [[[X]_{\alpha\ ST}\,pl]_{\alpha}\ [inh]_{\alpha\ ST}\,pl]_{\alpha}$$

where α = N or Adj

She argues that from the above structure it is possible to derive both the compound-like and the infixed diminutive as given in (7). She further adds that "the first class preserves the original compound structure...and the second class undergoes an infixation rule, so that *inh* becomes adjacent to the root, and the entire structure is collapsed into a single stem" (Maia, 1981, p. 80). Before generating the correct surface forms ending in (z)*inh*[*a*,*o*](*s*), three separate rules must apply. They are a) the /e/ deletion preceded by *inh*; b) the insertion of a vowel to the right of *inh* which preserves gender agreement; and c) the infixation of /z/ before the initial vowel of a stem with a left sister constituent ending in a vowel. The diminutive infixation is formally given in

(10) Diminutive infixation:

(a) $$[[[X+Y]_{\alpha ST}\ pl_{\alpha}\ [inh]_{\alpha ST}\ Q]_{\alpha} \Longrightarrow [[X+inh+Y]_{\alpha ST}\ Q]_{\alpha}$$

Condition: $$X \neq Z \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} V & C \\ & [+nas] \\ G & \end{array} \right\}$$

(b) e-Deletion:

$$e \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ inh \ \_ \quad (z)$$

(c) a/o-Insertion:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +back \\ -high \\ -round \\ -low \end{bmatrix} \ / \ X \ \underset{[\alpha masc]}{inh} \ \_ \ (z) \ ]_{\alpha}$$

(d) z-Insertion :

$$\emptyset \rightarrow z \ / \ V]_{kst} \ [\ \_ \ V$$

where: = {N, Adj}

k = any lexico-syntactic category

The derived forms generated by rule (10) are given in the samples in (11). The compound-like diminutives are represented by the left column while the right column represents the infixation process. The data in the center column are representative of their origin.

(11)

a.	$[[\text{dent+e}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]]_{\text{N}}$	
Dim. Form.	$[[[\text{dent+e}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]]_{\text{N}}$	
Plural	$[[[\text{dent+e}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}$	
Dim. Infix.	-	$[[\text{dent+inh+e}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}$
e-Deletion	-	$[[\text{dent+inh}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}$
a/o-Insertion	$[[[\text{dent+e}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]\text{N}$	$[[\text{dent+inh+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}$
z-Insertion	-	-

b.	$[[\text{trib+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{-pl}]]_{\text{N}}$	
Dim. Form.	$[[\text{trib+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{-pl}]]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inho}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{-pl}]]_{\text{N}}$	
Plural	-	
Dim. Infix.	-	$[[\text{trib+inh+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ ]_{\text{N}}$
e-Deletion	-	-
a/o-Insertion	$[[[\text{trib+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ ]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh+a}]_{\text{NSt}}\ ]_{\text{N}}$	-
z-Insertion	$[[[\text{trib+o}]_{\text{NSt}}\ ]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{zinh+a}]_{\text{NSt}}\ ]_{\text{N}}$	-

c.	$[[\text{leon}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]]_{\text{N}}$
Dim. Form.	$[[[\text{leon}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh}]_{\text{NSt}}\ [\text{+pl}]_{\text{N}}$
Plural	$[[[\text{leon}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}\ [\text{inh}]_{\text{NSt}}\ \text{z}]_{\text{N}}$

Dim. Infix.	-	(blocked)
e-Deletion	-	-
a/o-Insertion	$[[[\text{leon}]_{NSt}\ ]_{N}\,[\text{inh+o}]_{NSt}\ \text{z}]_{N}$	-
z-Insertion	-	-

d. $[[\text{Euclid+ez}]_{NSt}\ [\text{-pl}]]_{N}$

Dim. Form.	$[[[\text{Euclid+ez}]_{NSt}\ [\text{-pl}]]_{N}\,[\text{inh}]_{NSt}\ [\text{-pl}]_{N}$	
Plural	-	
Dim. Infix.	-	$[[\text{Euclid+inh+ez}]_{NSt}\ ]_{N}$
e-Deletion	-	$[[\text{Euclid+inh+z}]_{NSt}\ ]_{N}$
a/o-Insertion	$[[[\text{Euclid+ez}]_{NSt}\ ]_{N}\,[\text{inh+o}]_{NSt}$	$[[\text{Euclid+inh+o+z}]_{NSt}\ ]_{N}$
z-Insertion	-	-

The approach for the Portuguese diminutivation discussed in Maia (1981) is plagued by a number of discrepancies and she offers no solution for problems which hitherto were inexplicable. For example, there is no machinery that guarantees gender agreements, particularly in cases such as poema (poem), mapa (map) which keep the class marker vowels in the diminutives defying gender agreement. Furthermore, rules (9) and (10) are very uneconomical and "involve the performance of two inverse operations, first erasing the final vowel in the base, and then making the same vowel surface through gender agreement" (Roca, 1983). The derivative sample given in (11a) shows that the class marker vowel /e/ is shifted to the right of *inh* before it undergoes the vowel deletion rule, i.e. $[[\text{dent+inh+e}]_{NSt}\ \text{z}]_{N}$. This operation is not possible since it fails to apply to base words which also end in /e/ like *café* (coffee), and *pé* (foot). This word class requires obligatory /z/ infixation and never generates forms like **cafinhu*.

The adjustment rule which inserts /z/ before the initial vowel of a stem with a left sister constituent ending in a vowel also fails to capture the generalization of the /z/ infixation rule. That is, it fails to account for words which trigger /z/ infixation but don't end in a vowel. Words like *papel* *papelzinhu* (little paper), *mar* *marzinhu* (little sea) also require obligatory /z/ infixation.

We have so far identified some obvious limitations in reference to past analysis of diminutives in both Portuguese and Capeverdean. The discussion that will ensue will draw from the proposals put forth by Roca (1983) in his analysis of Spanish diminutives.

Within Roca's proposals we can now formulate a Capeverdean diminutive rule given below:

(12) insert *inh* in the environment $\_\_\_]_{S}$

Rule (12) will correctly generate the following:

(13) $[[\text{car}]_{\text{inh S}}\ \text{a}]_{\text{N}}$ $[[\text{sapat}]_{\text{inh S}}\ \text{u}]_{\text{N}}$

The derivation samples given in (13) provide strong support for rule (12). This rule is further supported by the evidence given below which partially solves the gender agreement problem:

(14) a. the poem

un $[[\text{poem}\ \underset{\text{inh}}{\uparrow\uparrow}\ ]_S\ \text{a}\ ]_N$

un poeminha

b. the map

un $[\text{map}\ \underset{\text{inh}}{\uparrow\uparrow}\ ]_S\ \text{a}\ ]_N$.

un mapinha

Maia's rules (9) and (10) would fail to predict the outcome in (14) since the gender agreement is solely determined by the class marker vowels /o/ or /a/. The examples given in (14) clearly show that the Capeverdean diminutives retain the class marker vowel of the base, in defiance of gender agreement.

Despite the economy and attractiveness of rule (12), it also fails to account for cases like café, pé since it generates the following ungrammatical forms:

(15) a. $[[\text{café}\ \underset{\text{inh}}{\uparrow\uparrow}\ ]_S\ \emptyset\ ]_N$

*cafeinh

b. $[[\text{pé}\ \underset{\text{inh}}{\uparrow\uparrow}\ ]_S\ \emptyset\ ]_N$

*peinh

In addition to the wrong predictions exemplified in (15a) and (15b), rule (12) also fails to trigger the obligatory /z/ infixation which is required by words such as café, cal, pé, etc. We will return to this question later.

To partially solve the problem presented by words that lack a class marker, Roca (1981) suggests the reformulation of "the diminutive rule to take account of the principled separation between the CV-tier and the segmental tier." Therefore, rule

(12) should be rewritten as (16):

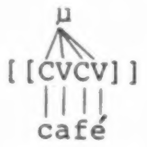
(16) insert $\begin{array}{c} \mathrm{VC} \\ \bigvee \\ \mu \\ [\mathrm{DIM}] \end{array}$ in the stem, immediately to the right bracket

Roca argues that since rule (16) requires that the diminutive rule applies to the stem domain, there will be no reference made to the class marker. Furthermore, it also predicts that the class marker of the base will be retained. In order to complete the derivation, Roca proposes a segmental rule of the type given in (17):

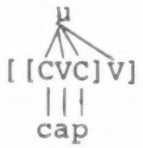
(17) in diminutives, associate inh with VC.

To account for words with no class markers, a layered phonology, usually referred to as "lexical phonology", as described in Kiparsky (1982), will be followed. This approach will give the lexical representation for café, capa, and poema as seen in (18):

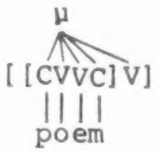
(18) a. [uMASC]



b. [uFEM]



c. [mMASC]

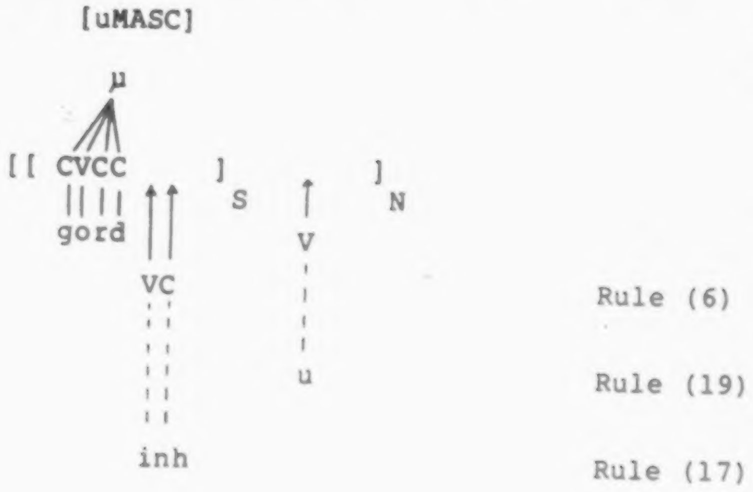


Since (18a) does not have any slot for the class marker, deletion rule (3) does not apply, and cafe will surface without a class marker. In (18b) and (18c) the vowel insertion rule in (19) associates the unmarked vowel a with class marker V

(19) $\emptyset \rightarrow V / C \# \_ S$

in (18b), and the same vowel is also inserted in (18c), even though the base is marked for masculine. Roca (1983) contends that "if the base form does not include a class marker, the diminutive invariably shows up with an unmarked vowel, i.e. with *o* if the base is masculine, and *a* if it is feminine...it is reasonable to conclude that gender is an intrinsic property of all nominal lexical items, which must be diacritically specified, even though a limited number of semantic redundancies may exist" (p. 78). This clearly points to the inadequacies of Maia's rules (9) and (10) which fail to correctly predict gender agreement. The class marker V, as it has been amply demonstrated by Harris (1981), is not inherently marked for gender. It follows then that nouns are marked for gender in the lexicon. The association of *a* with the class marker V for feminine forms, and *o* for masculine forms is part of a redundancy rule. Thus, this redundancy rule juxtaposes the marked *a* and *o* with the class marker V. Then, the diminutive derivation of *gordu* in (2) is given in (20):

(20)



/z/ infixation

As observed in (15a) and (15b) rule (12) failed to generate the correct diminutive forms which are as follows:

(21)	café	--	cafi+z+inh+u	(little coffee)
	pé	--	pi+z+inh+u	(little foot)

The data given in (21) show an increment of a /z/ segment between the stem and the infix inh. The forms in (21) cannot be predicted by any machinery thus far discussed. Maia (1981) proposes that an optional /z/ is part of the diminutive inhu(a) but she fails to clearly specify environments which require the /z/ infixation. In fact, since it is optional, it can apply in almost all environments as shown in (22).

(22) a. dente -- dentinho (little tooth)

b. dente -- dentezinho (little tooth)

In Capeverdean the /z/ infixation in (22b) is blocked since this increment only takes place in specified environments as seen in (23):

(23) a. dotor (male doctor) duturzinhu

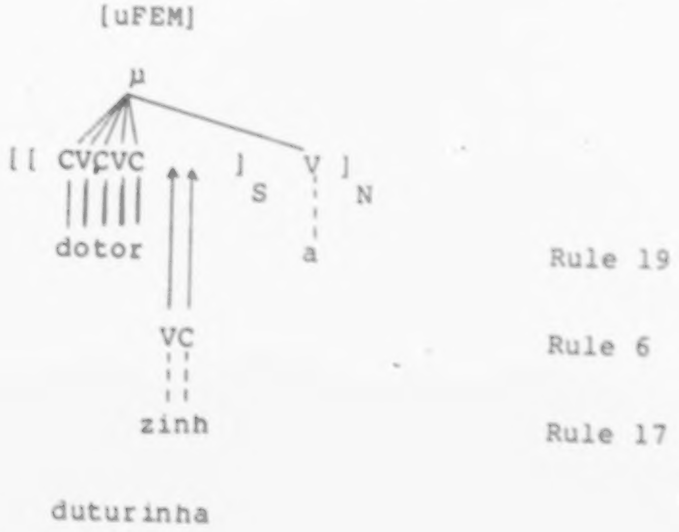
b. dotora (female doctor) duturinha

Along the same lines as Maia, Jaeggli (1980) also treats z = (c in Spanish) as an integral part of the diminutive inhu(a) (ito, a in Spanish) which must be deleted in the appropriate environment. Roca (1983) argues that, if maximal simplicity is to be achieved, Jaeggli's proposal must be reinterpreted autosegmentally. He proposes the following rule:

(24) in diminutive, associate zinh with VC

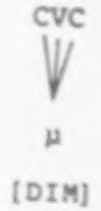
Rule (24) accounts for the derivation in (25):

(25)



In the derivation (25), the association between /z/ and C is blocked since C is already filled by /r/. Thus, rule (24) can only apply to (23a) and not to (23b). Roca (1983) solves the problem by reformulating rule (24) into rule (26):

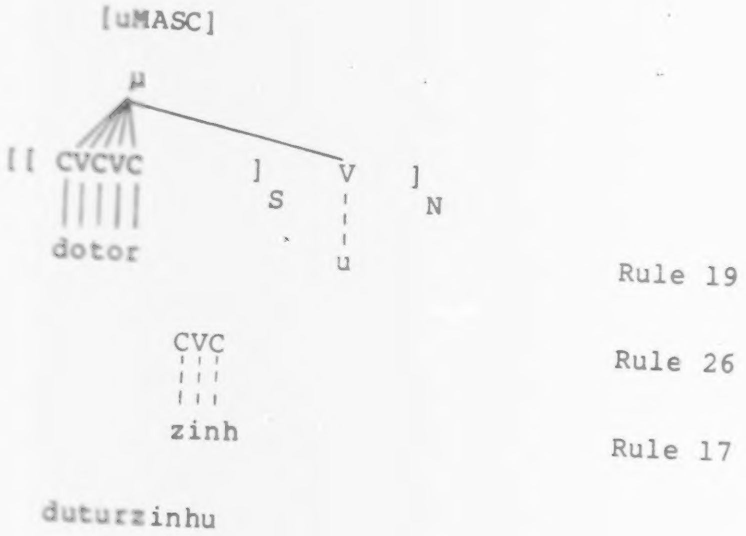
(26)



insert ... in the stem, immediately adjacent to the right bracket, in certain environments

Rule (26) will enable all elements in the segmental sequence zinh to be associated as seen in (27):

(27)


[uMASC]
μ
[[CVCVC]S V]N
dotor
u
CVC
zinh
duturzinhu
Rule 19
Rule 26
Rule 17

We must now analyze the difference between (23a) and (23b) to determine the environment which triggers /z/ infixation. We can rule out the stem environment since both dotor and dotora have the same stem. Then, the only observable difference is the class marker present in dotora. But since rule (26) requires that the domain of its applicability be the stem, any reference to the class marker as the appropriate environment for /z/ infixation would substantially alter rule (26). Any reference to class markers would also raise serious problems if we were to adopt another model to analyze /z/ infixation.

We remain perplexed about a possible paradox inherent in the analysis of the /z/ infixation when we follow the lexical phonology model as proposed by Kiparsky (1982). In this approach we posit basic roots, and then posit two layers of phonological rules. Phonological rules for each layer only apply in "derived environments", that is, are triggered only by segments found either in a morpheme that has been affixed on that layer, or otherwise are segments that have just arisen due to some rule that belongs to that layer.

The two layers in this case we will call "derivational" or Layer 1 -- and "inflectional", or Layer 2, though more for reasons of simplicity than due to any deep claim at this point concerning the nature of the affixes that appear on each layer. The diminutive suffix is found in Layer 1, as in *gurdinhu*. An example of the Layer 2 suffix is the final vowel class marker, such as *u* or *a* of *gordu* or *gorda*. The analysis of the Capeverdean diminutive in these two layers seems to be desirable in view of the vowel harmony triggered by the diminuntive derivation such as in *gurdinhu*. We will return to this question in the next section.

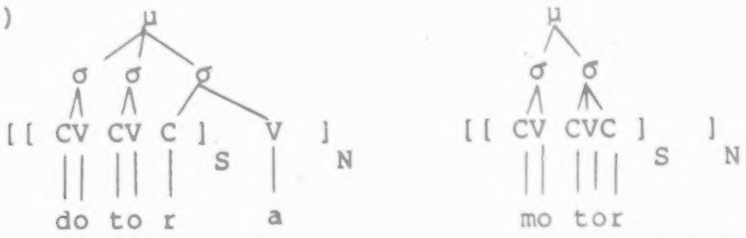
Then, within the lexical phonology framework, we can prescribe the following rule:

(28) Insert a /z/ after the radical when the radical would not take a final vowel class marker or would take a null final vowel.

This generalization seems to be empiracally correct as illustrated in derivation (29). However, we are unable to see how it can be stated within the framework of Lexical Phonology in any way that is theoretically acceptable. That is, if we are correct in assuming that the diminutivization process takes place at Layer 1 (the Derivational Level), the /z/ infixation which is part of this process does not have any available information to trigger its realization since the class marker affixation takes place only in Layer 2 (the Inflectional Level).

This apparent problem is easily resolved by syllable structure difference as proposed by Roca (1983):

(29)

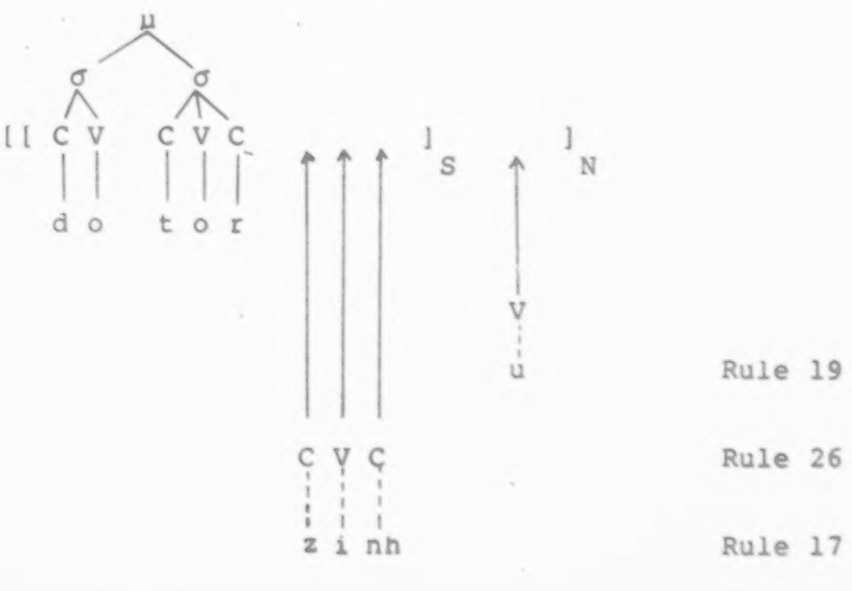


His analysis follows Clements and Keyser's (1981) proposal "that all representations include a CV-tier and a syllable tier between the morphemic tier and the segmental tier of more traditional analyses" (Roca, 1983:85). From this proposal it follows that the information in (28) is easily accessible to Roca's diminutive prosodic template rule in (29):

(30) insert $\overset{\text{CVC}}{\underset{\substack{\mu \\ [\text{DIM}]}}{\bigvee}}$ in the environment $]\_\_]_S$

From rule (30) we can easily derive *duturzinhu* since it inserts "the specified material at CV-tier in cases where no extrasyllabic material intervenes between the stem-closing bracket and the preceding syllable-closing bracket" (Roca, 1983:85). The derivation of *duturzinhu* is given below:

(31) [uMASC]



duturzinhu

Rule (30) accounts, in a straightforward way, for all cases of Capeverdean words with no final vowel class marker. In cases like *Djuninhu* and *Djunzinhu* (little John), where two diminutives are possible, rule (30) applies correctly even though on the surface they appear to be structurally ambiguous. If we analyze *Djuninhu* as derived from *Djon*, we must analyze *Djunzinhu* as derived from something else. In fact, these two forms represent foreign borrowings which have been reanalyzed into the Capeverdean phonological system. *Djon* comes from John while *Djunzinhu* must be derived from *Djoni* (Johnny). Given American English influence on the dialect of Brava, particularly in reference to proper names, our assumption can be easily verified. *Maria* represents another case where two diminutives are possible. If *a* is analyzed as a final vowel class marker, the diminutive is *Mariinha*; if *Maria* is unanalyzed, i.e. just a stem, then the diminutive is *Mariazinha*.

Rule (30) also accounts for monosyllables in (32a) and for words which take a final vowel which is not a class marker as shown in (32b):

(32)	a.	cruz	--	cruzinha	(little cross)
		sol	--	sulzinhu	(little sun)
		pon	--	punzinhu	(little bread)
	b.	cafe	--	cafizinhu	(little coffee)
		pe	--	pizinhu	(little foot)
		fe	--	fizinhu	(little faith)

3.2 *Vowel Harmony*

In our discussion of the Capeverdean diminutives, we observed that the affixation of *inhu(a)* triggered the $\begin{matrix}\text{-high}\\ \text{-low}\end{matrix}$ vowels to change to [+high], agreeing with the initial vowel [i] of the suffix *inhu(a)* as seen in the example below:

(33)

a) go̲rdu "fat"

b) fe̲iu "ugly"

c) lo̲ja "store"

d) gu̲rdinhu "little fat one"

e) fi̲inhu "little ugly one"

f) lu̲jinha "little store"

Notice that the final class marker vowels in 33 a-c do not affect the stem vowel.

In certain respects, a layered, or level, theory of phonology is of considerable use for the analysis of this phenomenon in the Capeverdean language. We will follow Kiparsky's (1982) approach, referred to as "lexical phonology". In this approach, as we had mentioned earlier, we posit basic roots, and then propose two layers of morphological affixation. Each layer comprises a set of phonological rules. We are assuming that phonological rules for each layer apply in "derived environments", that is, are triggered only by segments found either in a morpheme that has been affixed on that layer, or else are segments that have just arisen due to some rule that belongs to that layer.

The prototypical of the affixes in Layer 1 is the diminutive suffix -*inh*-, as in (33) d-f. The prototypical example of the

Layer 2 suffix is the class marker final vowel (sometimes called the gender marker), such as u or a of (33) a-c, and also (33) d-f.

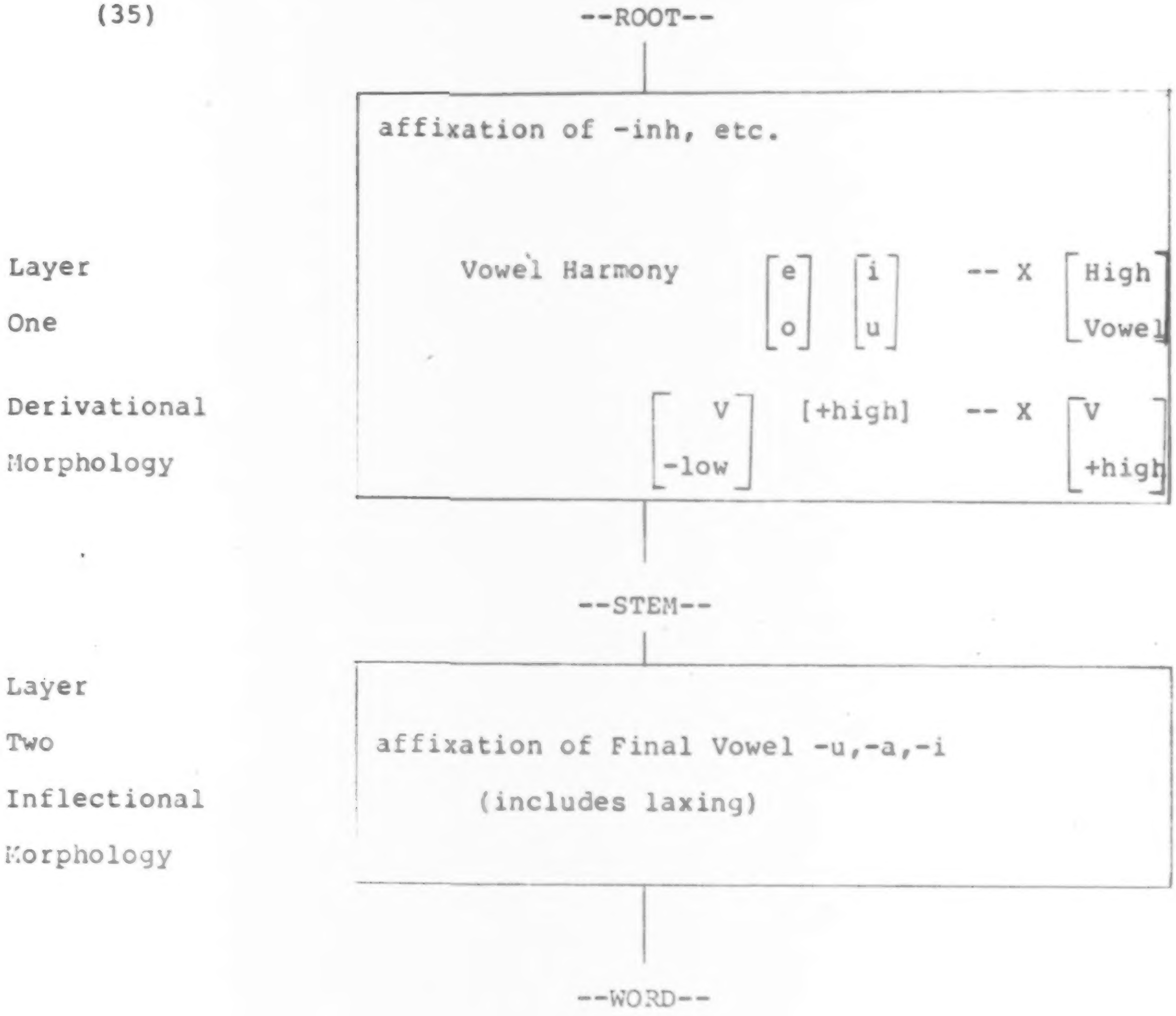
A partial list of properties of these two layers are given in (34):

(34)

Level 1	Level 2
Derivational	Inflectional
Triggers vowel harmony	Does not trigger vowel harmony
Productive but optional	Not optional: Most stems take a final vowel, but which one a stem takes is idiosyncratic

The diminutive process in Capeverdean requires the infixation of inh (we will continue to ignore other diminutive affixes such as it, and uch). This is added, we suggest, to the root, not to the word. Thus it appears before the final class marker vowel. The infixation of inh also triggers vowel harmony which takes place in Level 1. A sketch of this process is given in (35):

(35)


--ROOT--
affixation of -inh, etc.
Layer
One
Derivational
Morphology
Vowel Harmony $\begin{bmatrix}e\\o\end{bmatrix}\ \begin{bmatrix}i\\u\end{bmatrix}$ -- X $\begin{bmatrix}\text{High}\\\text{Vowel}\end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\-\text{low}\end{bmatrix}$ [+high] -- X $\begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\+\text{high}\end{bmatrix}$
--STEM--
Layer
Two
Inflectional
Morphology
affixation of Final Vowel -u,-a,-i
(includes laxing)
--WORD--

example:

radical:	gord
Layer 1	gord-inh
VH	gurd-inh
Layer 2	gurd-inh-u

radical	gord
Layer 1	gord
VH	gord
Layer 2	gord-u

The stem vowel $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{high}\\ -\text{low}\end{bmatrix}$ remains unaffected when the augmentative affix on is added since the initial vowel of this affix is also $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{high}\\ -\text{low}\end{bmatrix}$, as seen in (36):

(36)	gordu	"fat"	gordon	"very fat"
	porku	"pig"	porkon	"big pig"
	toro	"bull"	toron	"big bull"

We also observed that root-internal high vowels do not trigger vowel harmony. That is, the first vowel of the stem never raises in the simple form as attested by the examples in (37):

(37)	loru	"blond"
	tchoru	"cry"
	bordu	"bound"

The reason the final vowel class marker does not trigger vowel harmony is due to the fact that class marker vowels are the property of the "Inflectional Layer". We also observed that [+high] vowels of the stem remain constant as see in (38):

(38)	feiu	"ugly"	fiinhu	"little ugly one"
	peia	"trap"	piinha	"little trap"

The derivation of (38) gives rise to three successive vowels. That is, fei+inh+u becomes fii+inh+u. Since three identical vowels cannot remain in a cluster, one must be deleted, but which one is immaterial. Thus, fii+inh+u becomes fi+inh+u.

Low vowels do not trigger vowel harmony since they block vowel raising:

(39)	fraku	"thin"	frakinhu	"little thin one"
	latu	"belt"	latinhu	"little belt"
	gatu	"cat"	gatinhu	"little cat"

We also observed that vowel harmony in the cases discussed above apply to both root vowels if the root has more than one vowel as illustrated in (40):

(40)	serpenti	"serpent"	sirpintinhu	"little serpent"
	lolota	"proper name"	lulutinha	"proper name"
	pedreru	"mason"	pidririnhu	"little mason"

However, if the $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{high}\\-\text{low}\end{bmatrix}$ is followed by a [-low] vowel in the root before the infixation of the diminutive inh, vowel harmony is blocked:

(41)	meladu	"dirty"	meladinhu	"little dirty one"
	zeladu	"zealous"	zeladinhu	"little zealous one"
	goiaba	"guava"	goiabinha	"little guava"

Another fascinating case of vowel harmony in Capeverdean is observed in the alteration of /a/~/o/ and /a/~/e/ as discussed in

2.7.1.9 and 2.7.1.11. These alterations occur across dialects, mainly those of Sotavento vs. Barlavento. The /a/~/e/ alteration is more restrictive and our data seem to locate this phenomenon on the island of Santo Antao only.

These two vowel alterations were in the past considered idiosyncratic phonological variations (Lopes da Silva, 1957, Macédo, 1979). As we will see shortly, these alterations are rule governed but the traditional framework of analysis fails to elucidate the phonological processes involved in these vowel alterations.

We will adopt Schane's (1983) Particle Phonology and Goldsmith"s (forthcoming) proposal to account for the relationship between /a/~/o/ and /a/~/e/, as illustrated in (42) and (43).

(42)

Sotavento	Banlavento
sapatu "shoe"	sapot "shoe"
makaku "monkey"	makok "monkey"
gatu "cat"	got "cat"

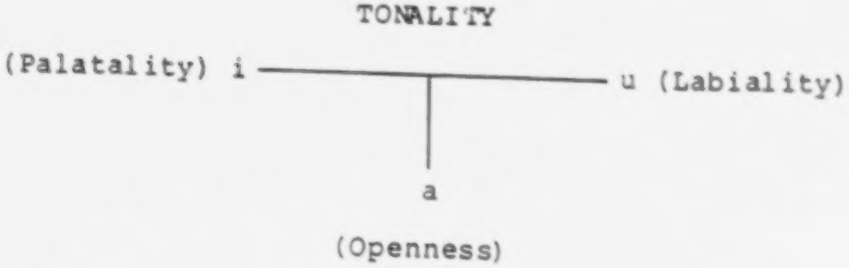
(43)

idadi "age"	ided "age"
sidadi "city"	sided "city"
pai "father"	pe "father"

In the Particle Phonology model there are three elementary particles: a, i, u. These particles are sometimes called radical vowels. According to Schane (1982):

> Particles coincide exactly with neither segments nor features; rather, they partake of both of these entities. In isolation, the elementary particles correspond to the vowels [a], [i], and [u], but in combination, they represent phonetic traits. For i, the crucial attribute is palatality or frontness; for u, labiality or rounding; and for a, aperture or openness. Figure [(44)/Schane's 7], in a typical triangular fashion, depicts the segment-like characteristics of the elementary particles.

(44) Particle Structure



All other vowels are the result of particle combination. The examples below illustrate the particle structure of the English vowel system as given in Schane (1982), Tables 1-4:

(45) Short vowels

[i]	i	[u]	u	[u]	iu		
[e]	ai	[o]	au	[o]	aiu		
[ ]	aai	[ ]	aau	[ ]	aaiu	[a]	a

(46) Dipthongs

[ai]	a	i	[ei]	ai	i
[au]	a	u	[ou]	au	u
[oi]	au	i	[ea]	ai	a
[eu]	ai	u	[oa]	au	a
[ue]	u	ai	[ao]	a	au

(47) Long (tense) vowels

[i:] i i [u:] u u [u:] iu iu
[e:] ai i [o:] au u [o:] aiu iu
[:] aai i [:] aau u [:] aaiu iu [a:] a a

(48) Short lax vowels

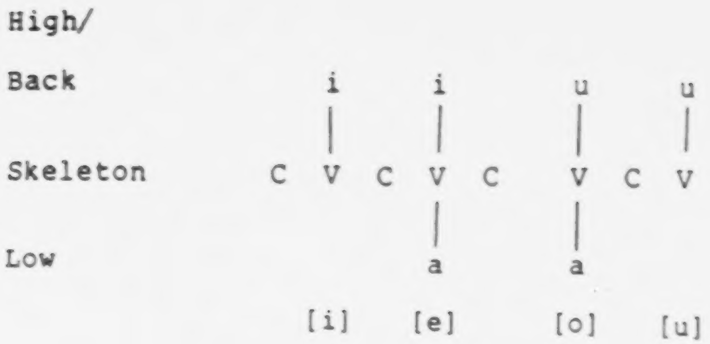
[I] ai [U] au [U] aiu
[E] aai [O] aau [O] aaiu
[ ] aaai

Since in the Capeverdean vowel system the distinction is basically one of height, we will ignore the particle combinations in (46) - (48). The particle structure of the Capeverdean vowel system is the following:

(49) [i] i [u] u
[e] ai [o] au
[a] a

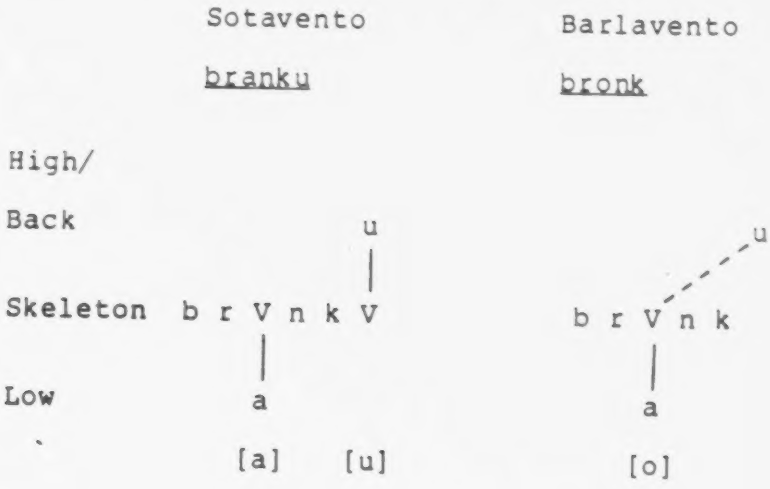
If we follow the Particle Phonology Model in our analysis of these two Capeverdean vowel alterations, we will be able to better understand the interactions between these vowels. This is possible by incorporating in our analysis the notion that the Capeverdean vowel system splits the features [Low] and [High/Back/Round] onto separate tiers (Goldsmith, forthcoming). Evidence from Capeverdean given (42) and (43) support this approach:

(50)


High/
Back
i
i
u
u
Skeleton
C V C V C V C V
Low
a
a
[i]
[e]
[o]
[u]

Let us now analyze the examples in (42) and (43) within this framework. We observed that the word *branku* in Sotavento becomes *bronk* in Barlavento. In addition to the /a/~/o/ alteration, the final vowel of *branku* is deleted in the dialects of Barlavento. We want to argue that the dialects of Sotavento and Barlavento have different skeletal structures as illustrated in (51):

(51) Skeletal structure for word *branku*


Sotavento
branku
Barlavento
bronk
High/
Back
u
u
Skeleton
b r V n k V
b r V n k
Low
a
a
[a]
[u]
[o]

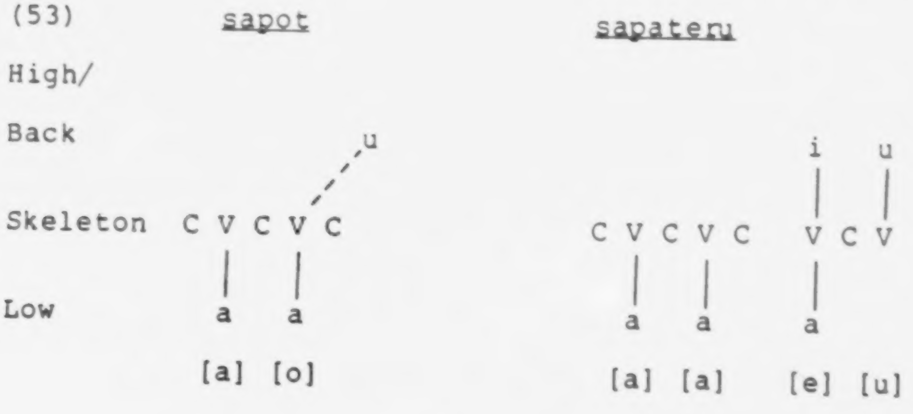
The final V segment in the Barlavento skeleton disappears, leaving the $\begin{matrix}+\text{high}\\+\text{back}\end{matrix}$ particle floating without any slot for u to dock. In this situation the particle u spreads leftward to the next available V slot causing the combination of [a] and [u] which produces, according to the model, the vowel [o]. Notice that when suffixes are added to the root with a new V slot, the alteration between /a/ and /o/ is neutralized as seen in (52):

(52) Barlavento

a)	sapot	"shoe"	d)	sapateru	"shoemaker"
b)	makok	"monkey"	e)	makakinhu	"little monkey"
c)	got	"cat"	f)	gatinhu	"little cat"

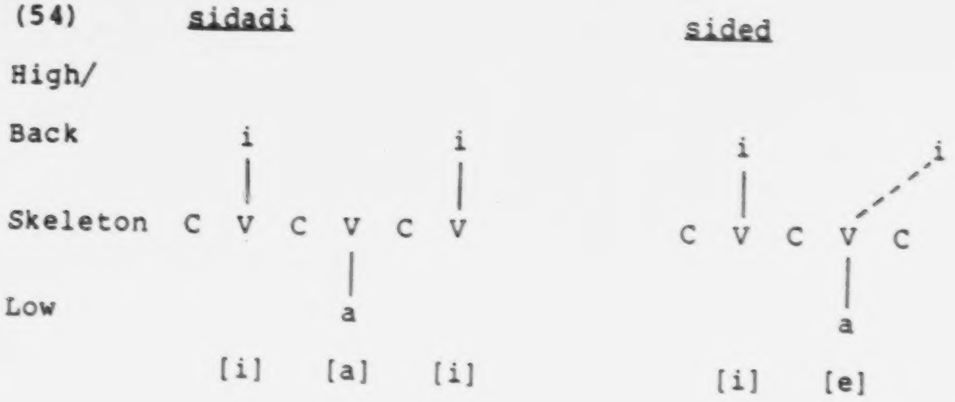
A skeletal structure for (52a) and (52d) is given below:

(53)

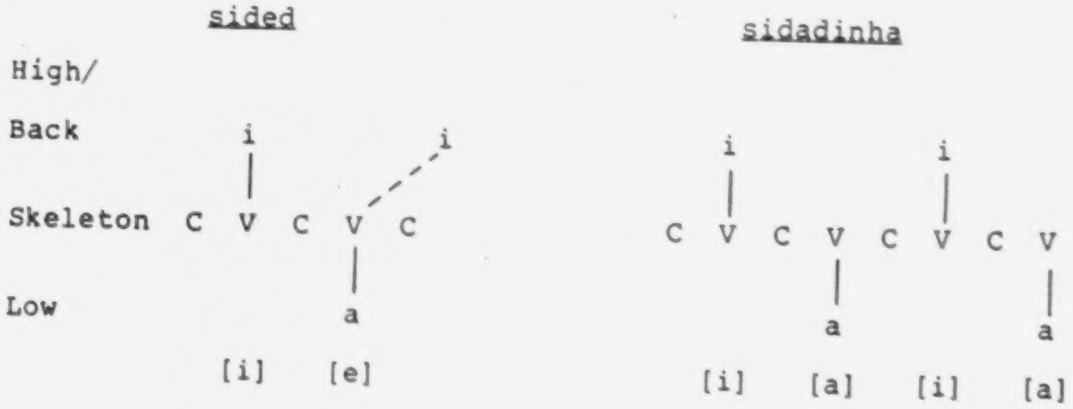


A similar vowel interaction is seen in the alteration between [a] and [e]. Although our data seem to locate this phonological phenomenon in the Barlavento island of Santo Antao, the process is the same as described in the case of [a]~[o] alteration. Let us analyze the skeletal structure difference between sidadi and sided, "city".

(54)


sidadi
sided
High/
Back
i
i
i
i
Skeleton
C V C V C V
C V C V C
Low
a
a
[i] [a] [i]
[i] [e]

Again the lack of a final V slot in the skeletal structure of sided causes the floating particle i to spread leftward to the next available V slot, causing the combination of particles ai which produces the vowel [e]. As in the case of [a]~[õ] alteration, if we add suffixes which supply the skeletal structure with the available V slot for i to dock, the spreading leftward does not occur and [a]~[e] alteration is blocked as illustrated in (55):


sided
sidadinha
High/
Back
i
i
i
i
Skeleton
C V C V C
C V C V C V C V
Low
a
a
a
[i] [e]
[i] [a] [i] [a]

As we have clearly shown, what was hitherto unanalyzable, is elegantly captured by situating our analysis of the [a]~[o], [a]~[e] vowel alterations within the Particle Phonology framework. Evidence from the Capeverdean language given in (51)-(54) lends further support to Schane's (1982) claim that the traditional binary features of the standard notation fail to capture the dynamics of certain vowel interactions. These processes are succintly characterized within the Particle Phonology framework.

Nasalization Rule

In the Capeverdean language vowels are nasalized when they precede a nasal consonant which is turn is followed by another consonant as seen in (56):

(56)	pẽnti	'comb'
	lõnǰi	'far'
	bõmba	'bomb'

This rule is stated in the notation given in (57):

(57) $$V \longrightarrow [+\ \text{nasal}] \ / \ - \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \ \text{C}$$

Vowels are also nasalized when they are followed by a nasal consonant which is at the word boundary as illustrated in (58):

(58)	fĩn	'end'
	lẽn	'name of place'
	kãn	'wide open'

This rule is written formally in (59):

(59) $$V \longrightarrow [+\ \text{nasal}] \ / \ - \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \ \#$$

If a final vowel is added to the words in (58) the nasalization process of the vowels preceding nasal consonants is blocked as observed in (60):

(60)		
	fina	'fine'
	lena	'proper name'
	kana	'cane'

The generalization of the Capeverdean vowel nasalization is captured in the rule given below:

(61) $$\mathrm{V} \longrightarrow [+\ \text{nasal}]\ /\ -\ \begin{bmatrix} \mathrm{C} \\ +\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \mathrm{C} \\ \# \end{Bmatrix}$$

Deletion Rule

In the dialects of Barlavento, $\begin{bmatrix} -\ \text{low} \\ -\ \text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$ vowels are deleted between consonants followed by a vowel as seen in (62):

(62) Sotavento		Barlavento	
kumē	'to eat'	kmē	'to eat'
botā	'to throw'	ptā	'to throw'
čigā	'to arrive'	čgā	'to arrive'

This vowel deletion rule is stated in the following notation:

$$(63) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \;/\; \text{C} - \text{CV}$$

Note that the words given in (62) are verbs. These same vowels in nouns don't appear to behave in the same manner. For instance, /bota/ 'boots', retains the interconsonantal vowel. This is due to stress.

A vowel is also deleted in the dialects of Barlavento $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$, mainly that of San Vincent, when it ends a word:

(64)

Sotavento		Barlavento	
poku	'little'	pok	'little'
tudu	'all'	tud	'all'
leti	'milk'	let	'milk'

This rule is written as:

$$(65) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset - \#$$

Rule (65) raises some problems if we follow a layered, or level, theory of phonology as proposed by Kiparsky (1982). Since the prototypical example of the Inflectional Layer is the class marker vowel, we can argue that the affixation rule at this level does not apply for the Barlavento dialects. If our assumption is correct, these dialects never have a class marker vowel in which case rule (65) is incorrect.

Another case of segment deletion is observed when nasal consonants are deleted in the environments of vowels that have been nasalized as illustrated by the examples given in (66):

(66)	[bõn]	[bõ]	'good'
	[põn]	[põ]	'bread'
	[tẽn]	[tẽ]	'to have'

This rule is stated formally in the notation below:

(67) $$\begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \_$$

Truncation Rule

In the Capeverdean language a $\begin{bmatrix} - \text{low} \\ - \text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$ is truncated in the initial position if the preceding word ends in a [+ stress] vowel. The examples below illustrate this process:

(68)	[tenē el]	[tenēl]	'has it'
	[botā el]	[botāl]	'throw it'
	[pidī el]	[pidīl]	'ask her'
	[kõmpō el]	[kõmpōl]	'fix it'

We will write this truncation rule in the following notation:

$$(69)\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{low} \\ -\text{stress} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset \; - \; \# \; \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{stress} \end{bmatrix}$$

Assimilation Rule

In the Capeverdean language, a nasal consonant incorporates the features of the consonant it precedes as seen in the examples given in (70):

(70)	Ĩmportanti	'impotant'
	m pode	'I can'
	ãmparu	'shelter'

This rule is written formally in (71):

$$(71)\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; - \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

Another instance of nasal assimilation is observed in the following examples:

(72)	n tene	'I have'
	ntẽnta	'to provoke'
	ndreta	'to straighten out'

We will state this rule in the notation below:

$$(73)\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \;/\; - \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

We also observe the following assimilation:

(74)	n kre̿	'I want'
	ngatā	'to catch'
	Īngratu	'ingrate'

The assimilation process illustrated in the examples given in (74) is written as:

$$(75)\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \;/\; - \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{sonorant} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

The assimilation processes observed in rules (71),(73) and (75) is captured by collapsing these three rules into a general rule given below:

$$(76)\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{anterior} \\ \beta\,\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \; - \;/ \quad \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\,\text{anterior} \\ \beta\,\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix}$$

Vowel Laxing (Post-cyclic or Layer 2)

Mid vowels become lax when they preced an unstressed schwa (from underlying a) as seen in (77):

(77)	ketu	'quiet'	kɛtə	'proper name'
	pretu	'male black'	prɛtə	'female black'
	selu	'stamp'	sɛlə	'horse seat'

The laxing rule is given in the following notation:

$$(78) \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{ high} \\ -\text{ low} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{ tense}] \;/\; - \text{Co} \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{ stress} \\ -\text{ high} \end{bmatrix}$$

When only one consonant intervenes (in the Co position) and it is [r], the laxing does not take place; this may be due to a condition on the rule, or to a later rule that tenses before [r].

We also observed that the vowel laxing rule applies to verb/noun pairs, where the noun has a lax mid vowel in the first syllable, but the verb has a tense mid vowel in the same position. The crucial difference is that the verb has a stress on the final syllable, and hence the laxing rule is blocked, as seen in (79):

(79)	Verb		Noun	
	molə̄	'to sharpen'	mɔlə	'spring'
	kolə̄	'to glue'	kɔlə	'glue'

We attempted to determine what the clear difference in "prominence distribution" was. In the verbs, the second syllable has a prominance that is not apparent in the second syllables of the non-verbs, and minimal pairs of this sort exist in overwhelming numbers. We will return to this question later.

Our conclusion at this point is that there is stress on the final syllable of the verb, but not the noun (i.e., no stress on the final vowel). This pattern is consistent with a noun/adjective stress rule.

Vowel Lengthening

The examples illustrated in section 1.2.1 in our discussion of vowels show that Capeverdean vowels are lengthened in the environment before liquids that are followed by a consonant as seen in (80):

(80)	i:rmõn	'proper name'
	bo:ltə	'turn'
	a:ltu	'tall'

This rule is written in the following notation:

(81) $$V \rightarrow \, : \; / \; - \begin{bmatrix} C \\ +\text{ liquid} \end{bmatrix} C$$

Vowels in Capeverdean are also lengthened when they end a word. The examples below illustrate this process:

(82)	ma:r	'sea'
	ka:l	'plaster'
	ma:l	'honey'

This rule is stated formally below:

$$\text{(83)}\quad V \longrightarrow \; : \; / \; - \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{liquid} \end{bmatrix} \; \#$$

Rules (81) and (83) are collapsed into the more general rule written in (84):

$$\text{(84)}\quad V \longrightarrow \; : \; / \; - \begin{bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \text{liquid} \end{bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{C} \\ \# \end{Bmatrix}$$

Low and Central Vowels

There is a general rule that centralizes the vowel /a/ to schwa word finally as given in (85):

$$\text{(85)}\quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{ high} \\ +\text{ low} \\ +\text{ back} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -\text{ high} \\ -\text{ low} \\ -\text{ tense} \end{bmatrix} \quad - \; / \; \#$$

Examples that illustrate this rule are given in (86):

(86)	də	'glue'
	dadə	'proper name'
	kazə	'house'

Stress

Words that end in a schwa in the Capeverdean language are stressed on the penultimate syllable as illustrated in (87):

(87)	pankadə	'injury'
	kamadə	'bunch'
	samadə	'call'

The rule is written in the notation below:

(88) $$V \longrightarrow [+\text{ stress}] \;/\; - \;C.\; \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{ tense} \end{bmatrix} \quad \#$$

In words that end in consonants, the stress is placed on the last syllable. The examples below illustrate this process:

(89)	ma:r	'sea'

pape:l 'paper'

This rule is stated as:

(90) $V \longrightarrow$ [+ stress] - C. #

Generally speaking, the stress rule states that stress is placed on the final vowels of the stem using Kiparsky's (1982) Layered Phonology framework.

We believe that there also is stress on the first syllable of verb given in 93 ; that is, there are two stressed forms in these verb forms. Whether one is more prominent than the other is difficult to determine at this point and we left this issue open for the present.

Tone

The only aspect that we investigated at this point concerns in High Tone that appears on the first syllable immediately preceding the verb, which may be a subject pronoun, or the final syllable of the subject noun. This appears to be obligatory in declarative sentences, though it is overridden by other effects in yes/no questions.

It should also be noted that the aspect markers ta and sta also are high toned in many cases:

(91) a) n ta kumē (habitual) 'I eat'

b) n sta kumē (continuous) 'I am eating'

In both (91) a and b, the particles *ta* and *sta* are high toned. However, the high tone appears on the penult syllable in the examples given in (92):

(92) el ta kompobə 'he used to fix'

el ta kumebə 'he used to eat'

We believe that the Capeverdean language still has vestiges of the level tonal system inherited from the West African languages. There are many minimal pairs of words having the shape CVCV which have level tones on the vowels. These tones can be classified as [+ High] and [- High]. In all cases, verb (infinitives) have final [+ High] tone while nouns and adjectives have medial + High tone.

For our discussion. the [+ High] will be marked by a line over the vowel, and [- High] will be represented by a line under the vowel, although once + High tone is assigned, - High must fall on the other vowel in the word, and is therefore predictable and need not be shown in a phonemic notation:

(93) /kāzə̱/ 'house'

/ka̱zə̄/ 'to marry'

/bāšə̱/ 'short'

/ba̲šə̄/	'to go down'
/bāñə̲/	'fat'
/ba̲ñə̄/	'to shower'

In both cases, the stress rules discussed in (88) and (90) apply and stress occurs on the penultimate syllable. Nevertheless, some people have interpreted [+ High] tone on the word final vowel in the Capeverdean language as stress. For example, Arthur Lomba (personal discussion) has indicated to me that he believes that stress is phonemic in the examples given above. However, many other creole languages have similar tonal distinctions.

According to Ian Hancock (1979), these tonal distinctions in creole languages "appears to be a carryover from tonal African languages in creole languages. Since non-tonal languages also distinguish items by stress, this must be considered as another possible source for this in creoles. In the Krio triplet kátà 'scatter', kàtâ 'catarrh', and kàtá 'head-pad' (<Twi) both English stress and Twi tone are evident." Hancock (1979) gives the following examples:

(94) Papia Kristang kázǎ 'house, kàsá 'to marry'
Romanes kàkó 'uncle', kákò 'that'
Navaho ńdè:sdzá 'he'll return', ńdésdzá 'I am returning'
Yoruba ìlù 'drum', ìlú 'town'
Temne bà 'lay eggs', bá 'have'

English *pervert*, *pervert*

The interrelationship between stress and tone in the Capeverdean language and other creole languages is a complex problem. Raul Romer (1977) has documented similar tonal characteristics in Papiamentu:

(95) pāpa̲ (high - low) 'porridge; the Pope'
pa̲pā (high - low) 'dad'
(both words are stressed on the first syllable)
In addition to tone stress must be taken into account, e.g.,
pıska (stress on first syllable) 'fish (verb)'
piska (stress on last syllable) 'fish (noun)'
Compare:
ma̲tā 'kill (verb)'
ma̲tā 'killed (adj.)'
māta̲ 'kill! (imperative)', 'plant (noun)'
pa̲rā 'stop (verb)'
pa̲rā 'stopped, standing (adj.)'
pāra̲ 'stop! (imperative)', 'bird'

Examples such as the ones given above are prevalent in the Capeverdean language. Unfortunately, no scientific research is being done at present of the suprasegmental features of this language. A more detailed analysis is needed in order to clearly understand the relationship between tone and stress in the Capeverdean language.

4.0 The Need for the Standardization of the Capeverdean Orthography

Written forms of the Capeverdean language can be dated back as far as the 17th century from the official documents sent to the Portuguese Kingdom. In addition to these documents, sporadic writings appeared thereafter, but never amounted to anything of great significance. One such writing was a partial translation of the Bible into Capeverdean. Most of the material published in the Islands was written in Portuguese. The paucity of written material in the Capeverdean language and the general negative attitude toward the mother tongue have their roots in the Portuguese colonialism which carefully conditioned the mentality of the dominated Capeverdeans to think that their culture was savage and their language a bastardized form of Portuguese, and that in order to be accepted, Capeverdeans must strive to assimilate the Portuguese model, at the cost of rejecting their own way of life.

It has been established that with the development of Claridade, a literary movement of the 30's, Capeverdean intellectuals began rejecting the Portuguese model provided by the colonial power and started looking inwards in search of their own roots.

As a result of this, throughout the Capeverdean literature, the main theme was telúrico (from the land). The Capeverdean man became the hero and, more and more, the Capeverdean language presented itself as an effective vehicle by which to execute this task. The integration of the Capeverdean language into the literature raised some controversial issues that are still evident today.

On the other hand, many authors, though they have recently gained some independent consciousness, feel that the Capeverdean language is an offshoot of Portuguese, thus not worthy of literary creation other than folk poetry. They argue against the suitability of the Capeverdean language as a mode of artistic expression citing the limitation of readership or the regionalism that the use of the Capeverdean language in literature may foster. Nevertheless, there are those who strongly advocate the usage of the Capeverdean language as a literary vehicle while being somewhat apprehensive about its lack of uniformity, as pointed out by Manuel Ferreira (1975):

> E um dos seus não menores problemas será o de encontrar uma grafia univoca para evitar que, como ora sucede, cada um a utilize a seu bel-prazer, incorrendo-se até, nalguns casos, naquilo que se nos afigura uma certa demagogia com a qual não se compadede a ciência da linguística; e lograr-se assim uma maior unidade, tendo mesmo em atenção as questões que se lavantarão pela sua diversidade não diremos já de ilha para ilha mas de Sotavento para Barlavento (p. 294).

Capeverdean authors and educators are still ambivalent about the status of their language and this is due mainly to the social attitudes of a colonized people. Nida (1963) cites that

> in general, of course, the greater the feeling of cultural insecurity, the more instense will be the response to the cultural pressure of the dominant language (p. 21).

Hence, without an all-out campaign promoting literacy in the Capeverdean language to counterbalance the supremacy of Portuguese in Cape Verde, the development of literature of Capeverdean expression may continue to be a mere intellectual exercise of a literate minority. Therefore, this section will focus mainly on the need to standardize the orthography and to develop a literacy program in the Capeverdean language.

Since the advent of Capeverdean independence from Portuguese colonialism a few years ago, linguistic issues have provided a leitmotif in many academic circles as well as in many political arenas. Some Capeverdean educators have advocated literacy programs in the native Capeverdean language as a means of effectively meeting the needs of the majority of Capeverdean students who are non- or limited-Portuguese speakers. They also believe that, since language is intertwined with culture, the cultivation of the students' language will enhance their cultural values and, ultimately, develop in them a very positive self-concept. Without a shadow of a doubt, these educators are on the right track, and the Capeverdean society has witnessed a wide resurgence of pride in the language that for too long carried the burden of many social stigmas.

Although some Capeverdean educators have effectively articulated the role of language in the socialization process of children, the vast majority have tacitly accepted the mandate instruction in the official language (Portuguese) without inspecting closely the relationship between language and cultural dominance. Hence, they have fallen into the danger of creating a distorted consciousness. By this, we mean that they have failed to understand "the ways in which language extends and maintains authority and the ways in which it manipulates the discontented into conformity and docility" (Greene, 1978, p. 77). These educators have adopted the structuralist view that language "tends to be apolitical and ahistorical, thus hiding the complex nexus of political and economic power and resources that lies behind a considerable amount of curriculum organization and selection" (Apple, 1977).

By leaving the official language mandate unexamined, these educators have, in fact, developed (although unconsciously) new manipulative strategies that support the maintenance of Portuguese cultural dominance.

The vagueness of the role of the official language in the independent Republic of Cape Verde obscures the dichotomy between standard language versus non-standard language. We will attempt to show that, while the present Capeverdean pedagogical policies appear to promise the development of a democratic educational system, they fail to establish a curriculum in which the vehicle of instruction is in harmony with the students' language behaviors. The ambivalence of many Capeverdean politicians and educators with regard to language policy in the Republic of Cape Verde has resulted in a shocking apathy toward the standardization of the Capeverdean language. At the same time, they repeatedly use the lack of orthographic uniformity for Capeverdean to justify their present policy of using Portuguese as the only medium of instruction. They argue in terms of the inability to create didactic materials in the Capeverdean language in the absence of a standard orthography, and they often raise the question of which dialect such an orthography should be based on. By far the most common argument is that the Portuguese language has international status which guarantees the Portuguese-educated Capeverdean upward mobility. The sad reality is that while the Portuguese language promises access to political and economic structures in the high echelon of the Capeverdean society, it screens out the majority of the populace who fail to learn Portuguese well enough to acquire the necessary literacy level for social, economic, and political advancement. Such a screening-out procedure, in fact, belies the political rhetoric that advocated the cultivation of the Capeverdean language as a means to raise the consciousness of the people, and that Capeverdean literacy programs should use the students' reality as a point of departure in order to provide them with the necessary tools to become conscious of their reality. The weeding-out process in present Capeverdean education is diametrically opposed to democratic principles of education.

It is apparent that the identification and analysis of the linguistic system the Capeverdean child brings to the classroom is essential to identifying appropriate classroom methodology. Such analysis would allow for the standardization of the Capeverdean orthography, which is at the core of any effective methodology that might be devised. The personal experiences in Portuguese educational systems and the numerous horror stories (sometimes anecdotal) we frequently hear about Cape Verde in reference to languages of instruction have led us to believe that we have been mistaken, in most instances, in taking for granted that Capeverdean children bring to the classroom sufficient linguistic skills in Portuguese to function efficiently. By and large, Capeverdeans meet head-on with failure in the traditional curriculum. The 65-75% illiteracy rate in Cape Verde is a sad reminder of the inadequacies of Portuguese as the only medium of instruction in Capeverdean schools. For instance, there is approximately a 70% retention of students in the first grade, a fact we find very alarming. Thus far, Capeverdean educators have failed to acknowledge (or at least they have underestimated) the psychological and sociological effects the Portuguese language has had, and continues to have, on Capeverdean students.

The pedagogical implications of Portuguese as the medium of instruction in Capeverdean schools are far-reaching and yet largely ignored. For example, the reading programs in Capeverdean schools often contradict the fundamental principles of reading. Research has indicated that students learn to read faster and with better comprehension when taught in their native language. Children can only engage in a meaningful reading program when they read about experiences which are part of their own reality. Since these experiences are transmitted in their mother tongue, it is also recommended that this language become the vehicle of instruction in reading. The immediate recognition of familiar words and experiences enhances the development of a positive self-concept in the child who is somewhat insecure in reference to the status of his language and culture. For this reason, a realistic philosophy for Capeverdean reading programs should be based on the rationale that a literacy program should have as its point of departure the child's language.

Beyond the pragmatic underpinning of teaching reading in the child's language to facilitate the acquisition of reading skills (in a technical sense) underlies a more profound pedagogy. According to Giroux (forthcoming), the essence of the idea of using one's language (which is part of one's reality) is that

> people be able to generate their own meanings and frame of reference, to be able to develop their self-determining powers through their ability to perform a critical reading of reality so they act on that reality.

This notion is succintly put forth in Freire's Pedagogy in Process:

> The act of learning to read and write, in this instance, is a creative act that involves a critical comprehension of reality. The knowledge of earlier knowledge, gained by the learners as a result of analyzing praxis in its social context, opens to them the possiblity of new knowledge, reveals the reason for being behind the facts, thus demythologizing the false interpretations of these same facts. And so, there is now no more separation between thought-language and objective reality. The reading of a text now demands a 'reading' within the social context to which it refers (1978, p. 24).

By divorcing reading from the child's reality, we are perpetuating

> the pedagogical styles, and forms of evaluation within the educational setting which function, in part, as message systems to distribute and reinforce the self-deprivation, fatalism, and misdirected violence characteristic of the oppressed (Giroux, forthcoming).

Denial of these rights puts Capeverdean educators and political leaders in a position that suffers from what Giroux calls "a self-defeating dose of theoretical schizophrenia."

In order to avoid this schizpohrenic state, Capeverdean educators and politicians must develop new perspectives by which they understand the fact that

> language is inevitably one of the major preoccupations of society which, liberating itself from colonialism and refusing to be drawn into neo-colonialism, searches for its own recreation. In the struggle to recreate a society, the reconquest by the people of their own world becomes a fundamental factor (Kennett, 1973).

Hence, it is of tantamount importance that the systematization of the Capeverdean orthography be given top priority in the reconstruction of the new society in Cape Verde. It is this orthography which will play a major role in an effective literacy program designed to give the Capeverdeans the necessary skills to find themselves in their own cultural space and time. Once literacy programs in Cape Verde begin to incorporate the Capeverdean language as a medium of instruction, the populace will begin to free themselves from a type of neo-colonialism and move toward the creation of their own independent identity. Furthermore, the usage of the Capeverdean language in education forces the daily cultivation of its linguistic structure, making the language more and more a viable vehicle of communication in all aspects of the Capeverdean life. In addition, literacy in the Capeverdean language augurs well for further development of the Capeverdean language on the artistic level:

> ...not to cultivate Cape Verdean Creole, particularly on the artistic level, is tantamount to denying an important area of national creativity. And in a very practical sense, not to write in Cape Verdean Creole is to ignore a sizable

readership: Those communities in the 'diaspora'. Those Americans of Cape Verdean descent may not know Portuguese, but most speak creole (Hamilton, 1974).

4.1 The State of the Art

A. General Overview of Orthographic Development

There is no satisfactory methodology that could be prescribed to either develop an orthography for an unwritten language or to revise an existing one. As Fishman has pointed out:

> The scientific literature about the revision of orthographies in general is still in its infancy and lacks the concepts, the technical data collection materials and methods and the analysis skills needed to inquire into the intensity, extensity, or continuity of either the change forces and processes or the counter-charge factors (1976).

However, in the past decades, much insight in the development of orthographies has been gained due, primarily, to the efforts of the translation departments of some Bible Societies.

Among the few notable works devoted to the development or adaption of orthographies are David Diringer's The Alphabet (1945) which gives a detailed account of the histories of the spread of writing but lacks linguistic sophistication. Kenneth L. Pike's textbook, Phonemics, A Technique for Reducing Language to Writing (1947) is more a book on the analysis of the phonological system of a language, although Chapter 16, "The Formation of Practical Alphabets," is a good and insightful piece on how to devise or adapt orthographies. Another work dealing with the problem, written from a linguistic viewpoint is A Study of Writing (1952) by I. J. Gelb. Two other brief but helpful efforts having to do with writing systems are found in the introductory linguistic texts by Charles F. Hockett (1958) and H. A. Gleason (1961). Both of these works assume some linguistic background since they discuss the relationship between writing and phonetic systems as well as other aspects of language.

By far the most comprehensive works on writing systems are Smalley's Orthography Studies (1963) and Fishman's edited book, Advances in the Creation and Revision of Writing Systems (1977). Both of these studies on orthographic design are collections of acticles, some of which focus on how these principles underlie the development of an orthography while the rest focus on how these principles operate in practice and how different problems are worked out in different orthographies.

The general attitude toward development of an orthography has its roots in Bloomfield's belief that an ideal orthography must have a one-to-one correspondence between grapheme and phoneme. This belief was largely promoted by Pike and Gudschinsky in their work for the Summer Institute of Linguistics. For example, Pike's original position (1947) concerning the design of a pratical orthography was that "there should be a one-to-one correspondence between each phoneme and the symbolization of that phoneme." Some years after this position was proposed, it was seriously challenged by Nida (1963) who distinguished between

> the technical use of an orthography by linguists and the practical use by speakers of a language. Both psychological and cultural factors were cited for deviating from one-letter, one-sound basis but even more important for the development of design principles was the description of reading as a complex series of reactions to a visual symbol and the resulting emphasis on preserving the unity of visual impressions.

However, the one-to-one correspondence theory was still being supported by other linguists, e.g., Gudschinsky (1959) who espoused this principle, partially in response to Nida's advice that

> once the translator has reached a satisfactory one-to-one correspondence between the symbols and psychologically significant sound units, it is sometimes necessary because of practical circumstances to make certain necessary modifications of the scientific alphabet.

A growing interest in sociolinguistics and non-linguistic factors such as sociocultural variables has been given increasingly more attention in orthography design. Smalley (1963) cites

> examples of Nothern Laos, Africa, Haiti and Latin America where the influence of educated bilinguals, identification with a prestige language culture and elements of transfer value have all united to make new literates who want to learn a system as close as possible to the prestige language.

A case in point is the orthography developed by Ormonde McConnell for Haitian Creole. Although it was scientifically an excellent writing system, it confronted serious opposition stemming from the fact that it very closely resembled the English writing system. It then became obvious that the acceptance or rejection of an orthography depended not only on linguistic principles but also on non-linguistic factors. Pike, Sjober and Berry, among others have all since stressed the importance of sociocultural factors in the design of an orthography.

Among the most cited principles in the design of an orthography are those proposed by Smalley (1963) and they are listed below in what he took to be their order of importance:

1. Maximum motivation for learners and acceptance by society and controlling groups such as the government.

2. Maximum representation of speech. The fullest, most adequate representation of the actual spoken language is, by and large, the ideal.

3. Maximum ease in learning. Many writing systems have failed as a missionary tool because they were too complicated for a learner.

4. Maximum transfer. Here we refer to the fact that certain of the alphabet or other written symbols will, when learned, be applicable to the more rapid learning of the trade or colonial languages in the areas.

5. Maximum ease of reproduction. Typing or printing facilities are a consideration, although they are not of first importance.

No one would dispute the validity of these principles. What has been challenged is the order of importance assigned to each principle. For example, Venesky (1977) has suggested that "while sociocultural factors (Smalley's first principle) must be considered at some point in the design of practical writing systems, these are subordinate to the linguistic, psychological and pedagogical variables (Smalley's second and third principles) which determine the optimal system or range of systems for language and the speakers involved." Without arguing for or against the order of importance of the principles proposed by Smalley, there is little doubt that a practical orthography must incorporate all these principles. The question that remains to be answered is what weight should be assigned to each principle. A viable procedure to answer this question would be the design of an orthography by experimentation. That is, while "a most careful analysis of the phonemic structure and the fuctional load of the phonemes" (Smalley, 1963) must be done, speakers' reaction in terms of preference, ease in learning, etc., must also be measured. As Gold (1977) has indicated "most of these principles conflict with one another and the differences between one codex (orthography) and the next lie most in how the conflicts were resolved. i.e., in the various possible hierarchical orderings of the principles." The relative weight which has been assigned to each principle can best be determined by the development of the orthography through experimentation which forces the investigators to consult at all stages of the development what Pike has called "the naive native speaker's reaction." As Venezky (1977) has stated, "attempts to devise a writing system experimentally must be viewed as a major step forward, however difficult the experiments are to design and laborious and expensive to execute."

B. Specific Research Areas

In order to propose a successful standardized Capeverdean orthography we had to accomplish at least the following two tasks: 1) obtain a careful phonemic analysis of present day spoken Capeverdean, 2) evaluate those aspects of conflicting existing orthographies which bear on the issues of sociocultural attitudes, ease of learning and transfer. Let us turn to these issues now. (We assumed that any orthography selected must meet Smalley's fifth principle -- ease of reproduction.)

Potential Capeverdean Orthographies

A written form of the Capeverdean language can be dated as far back as the 17th century from the official documents sent to the Reign (Continental Portugal). In addition to these documents, sporadic writing appeared thereafter but never amounted to anything of significance. One such writing was a partial translation of the Bible into Capeverdean.

Given the preoccupation with delving into the nature of creole languages during the 20th century, the popularity of studies in creole languages has become irrepressible; and in the early 20th century, Capeverdean intellectuals began to value their mother-tongue. The famous poet Eugenio Tavares wrote with great pride in the Capeverdean language. Pedro Cardoso, a Capeverdean writer, and others, came to the defense of their culture; and consequently, since language is intertwined with culture, Capeverdean was also laureated.

The integration of the Capeverdean language into the literature raised some controversial issues that are still in evidence today -- those pertaining to Capeverdean orthography. In the past, many Capeverdean authors have enjoyed a great freedom in choosing their graphic representation. As a result, no uniform orthography has evolved. The arguments about the different graphic representations have their roots in subjective judgments rather than an empirical basis. The various orthographic systems that have been advocated by Capeverdean groups can best be compared by referring to orthography design.

An Etymological Alphabet

Although no orthographic system has ever been devised specifically for Capeverdean, different approaches have been advocated. One, held by an elite group schooled in Portuguese, believed it was impossible to escape some degree of assimilation into the dominant culture. For this group, the Capeverdean language is nothing more than a variant dialect of Portuguese. Convinced of this, they believe the Capeverdean orthography should approximate the standard Portuguese writing system and they argue that a viable Capeverdean orthography should be based on the etymology of each word. However, although much of the Capeverdean lexicon is Portuguese-based, there are many lexical items in the Capeverdean lexicon with a very high functional load which cannot be traced to any Portuguese origin, e.g., *djongoto* (to kneel). Examples in (82) represent some of the words which have no Portuguese roots:

(82) Non-Portuguese words in the Capeverdean language

Capeverdean	Portuguese	English
/čuki/	meter	to insert
/nfuni/	pensativo	thoughtful
/buǰə/	intrigar	to intrigue
/kankan/	tabaco	tobacco
/ringiti/	mordiscar	to nibble
/dabiu/	percevejo	roach
/čiču/	toucinho	pork rind
/fanẽngə̄/	tipo de peixe	type of fish
/moñõngo/	enrugar	to wrinkle
/ñemẽ/	comer	to eat
/ǰurǰur/	inquieto	restless
/ǰõngoto/	ajoelhar	to kneel
/mũnturu/	lixo	trash
/furfuri/	agitar	to ruffle
/gasganetə̄/	enforcar	to strangle
/ntuǰə̄/	enterrar	to bury
/tentē/	joeirar	to sift
/čaputi/	beliscar	to pinch
/nuči/	amolgar	to dent

How are these words to be written, if their representations must be based on their non-Portuguese etymological roots? Even in cases where a particular item evolved from a Portuguese root, there frequently are difficulties with this approach. The form /kre/ cre (to want), which derives from /kerer/ querer (to want) is illustrative. There are authors who have represented /kre/ as cre and authors who have written /kre/ as g're. The rationale behind the latter is that since /kre/ derives from the Portuguese /kerer/ which is represented orthographically as querer, the written form of /kre/ should follow the Portuguese pattern and be represented as g're. The apostrophe, they contend, indicates that the diagraph qu is part of a Portuguese othographical rule which states that the phoneme /k/ before /e/ and /i/ is represented graphically as qu. Hence, qu is not part of the phonemic level in /kerer/ but merely a graphic representation of the phoneme /k/.

An orthography which is strictly based on etymological principles encounters serious difficulties. Such an orthography would require a thorough etymological analysis of the Capeverdean language, a formidable task, in view of the lack of people well versed in both the Romance and African languages and willing to undertake such an ambitious venture. In addition, such an orthography might become outdated rapidly, since it would not be designed to accomodate the phonological changes that will occur as a result of the language's evolution. Finally, and very importantly, there is a risk of having this orthography rejected by various segments of the Capeverdean population because of its obvious association with the Portuguese language and culture -- Smalley's first principle.

A Phonetic Alphabet

A strictly phonetic alphabet would have to include every detail of the phonological realization of each dialect of the Capeverdean language. Smalley (1963) points out that because of the intricate details of its symbols, a phonetic writing system

> can never be the basis of a popular orthography. The two fundamental reasons for this are that the greater the degree of phonetic sophistication on the part of the writer, the greater the number of distinctions he will have to write if he is to follow the phonetic principles.

If the development of an orthography is supposed to serve the interest of the large number of Capeverdean illiterates by facilitating their acquisition of reading in their own language, a phonetic alphabet would be most inappropriate and would negate the fundamental rationale for its development. Only highly trained individuals of the Capeverdean intelligentsia would be able to decipher the phonetic codification of the Capeverdean language which would preclude the opportunity of the majority of the population to learn to read and write.

Although the phonetic level cannot serve as a base for practical orthography, it has has some influence on the graphemic representation of various dialectical speech sounds. Capeverdean authors who write literature in the mother-tongue are usually subjected to ethnocentrism and try to represent graphemically the way they perceive their speech, even though the sound contrasts trigger no significant difference in meaning. For this reason, we have discrepancies in the representation of a particular sound within a dialect, across dialects, and in some cases, even within ideolects. It is not at all uncommon to find a sound written two different ways by the same author.

For example, Eugénio Tavares in one of his poems wrote /čeu/ (many) as tcheu in one line and ten lines later as cheu. Furthermore, in the preoccupation with being consistent with phonetic accuracy in their sound system, authors often overdifferentiate details which are represented by diacritic marks or repetition of letters, which make the writing system overly cumbersome. A result of this awkward representation of the sound system is the following sociocultural phenomenon: Many Capeverdean natives, especially those who have learned to read in Portuguese, feel that Capeverdean writing is substandard, less than completely identified with the prestige writing system (Smalley, 1963). The numerous orthographic representations of the Capeverdean language prevent a possible solution that would result in some form of unity.

A Phonemic Alphabet

The development of a Capeverdean orthography based on phonemic principles has been advocated as the ideal solution to the codification of the Capeverdean sound system. Proponents argue that it would be conducive to uniformity, since all the minute details of the phonetic level would be combined into one unit: The phoneme. The phoneme, in turn, would be represented graphemically by one symbol. For example, although in Capeverdean the phoneme /p/ is realized both [p] as in [spiə̄] (spy) and as $[p^h]$ as in $[p^h oti]$ (jug), the presence or absence of aspiration is functionally insignificant, as in English. Hence, there is a need for only one orthographical symbol corresponding to the phoneme /p/. A Capeverdean orthography based on phonemic principles would put an end to the emotional controversies raised by an orthography which is based on the etymological roots of the words. Moreover, a phonemic alphabet is consistent in the representations of sounds. For example, if vowel nasalization is indicated in one instance by a tilde over the vowel, then the same symbol is used throughout. Finally, the phonemic alphabet is believed to be efficient in teaching students to read, since the strict rule of one symbol for each sound limits the number of symbols the students would have to learn.

In cases where phonemic principles obscure visual identity between phonologically conditioned allomorphs of the same morpheme, all such allomorphs must be spelled identically. As Venezky (1977) points out:

> In English, the regular plural may have three different sounds, as in *clumps*, *monsters*, and *horses*, yet all may be spelled with the same letter since the selection of the proper sound is part of the speech habits of children by the age that reading begins. What the child must learn to respond correctly is that "s" at the end of certain forms indicates plurality -- the proper pronounciation he already knows. Spelling the plural with the same form regardless of its sound is an aid toward meaning, in that it allows a more rapid translation from spelling to meaning than would a pure phonemic system.

Cases similar to the English plural occur in the Capeverdean language. Other morphemic devices such as *sane*, *sanity*, *meter*, *metric* are also predominant in the Capeverdean language and must be considered in the design of the orthography. The incorporation of morphemic spelling in the Capeverdean orthography may in fact facilitate translation from spelling to meaning and, at the same time, present itself as a viable solution to capricious graphemic representations of sounds that differ across dialects.

In view of all these positive features of the phonemic alphabet, one wonders why it has met so many obstacles with those languages for which it has been proposed. For example, the Haitians have rejected a phonemic alphabet devised by McConnell because, according to Déjean (1977), "des Haitiens bilingues ont repoussé avec horreur le systême de McConnell au nom et pour la défense de l'aspect française de la culture locale et à crie a la mainmise Américaine." Déjean, on the other hand, stressed the scientific soundness of the McConnell orthography as

> une excellente orthographe phonologique basée sur la même inventaire phonématique que Si et RD, tout aussi valable que ceux deux systèmes, un peu moins compliquée que RD, élégament éloignée de l'orthographe française traditionelle que Si et RD, parce que précisément elle est un système phonologique du créole et non pas une orthographe hibride du français.

The reason for the rejection of the McConnell orthography was not due to its scientific nature, but rather because writing systems are largely "cultural matters, and the value of existing systems of writing which may be known to the people in greater or lesser degree must be taken fully into consideration" (Nida, 1963). Since the majority of Haitians still feel very insecure with respect to their native language, an orthography that approximates French, the language with which it coexists, has a better chance of being adopted. As Smalley (1963) noted

> When efficiency and cultural prestige are pitted against one another, the latter almost always wins out in the end. It is not what is easiest to learn, but what people want to learn and use which ultimately determines orthographies.

Since Capeverdeans suffer from a language complex similar to the Haitians, we feel confident that a strictly phonemic orthography will be rejected. A majority of people do not understand the linguistic principles involved; and we fear they will continue to promote the orthography that most resembles that to which they are visuallly accustomed. For example, we might expect adults to insist on representing the phoneme /č/ with the diagraph ch (which also represents the /š/) because many authors do this, as seen in (83):

(83) <tch> vs. <ch> /č/

Author	Orthography	Phonemics	Meaning
E. Tavares	cretcheu	/krečeu/	beloved
	tchuba	/čuba/	rain
L. Romano	tcher	/čer/	smell
	fechad	/fčad/	closed
G. Mariano	chada	/čada/	plains
	chabe	/čabi/	key
J. P. Barbosa	tchom	/čõn/	land
	tcheu	/čeu/	many
A. Vieira	tchota	/čota/	bird
	cretcheu	/krečeu/	beloved
B. L. Silva	ratcha	/rača/	rip
	tcheu	/čeu/	many

In situations where non-readers suffer from cultural insecurity, it appears to be advantageous to devise orthographies that are closer in appearance to those of the dominant language with which they co-exist, in this case, Portuguese. Such a move, of course, must consider the sociocultural issues of anti-Portugal feeling raised earlier. Hence, although there may be theoretical arguments against removing the orthography from phonemic principles, this move may compensate for possible reading difficulties, if in the long run, people are motivated to read and a literacy program becomes successful. In the Capeverdean situation, the major role is to enable the Capeverdean people to rise out of illiteracy, even if this means sacrificing the phonemic principles to a degree.

Capeverdean orthography must be based on a balance between phonemic principles and the sociocultural realities that will ultimately shape it. For this reason, a practical Capeverdean orthography should weigh heavily Nida's words of caution that "any changes in orthography must be studied with the greatest care, and in all instances one must base any changes upon the already existing system" (1963).

Sociocultural Factors

The phonemes which present the most controversy in the graphemic representations are /č/, /š/, /ǰ/, /ž/, and /k/. Capeverdean authors have been unable to prescribe a uniform orthography and this is, mainly, a reflection of their attitudes toward their mother tongue. Many authors, even though they have gained some independent consciousness, feel that the Capeverdean language is an offshoot of the Portuguese and that in order to achieve uniformity in writing, the Capeverdean orthography should approximate the standard Portuguese orthography. Others have rejected this claim totally and tend to force the language toward Africa. It is evident that the controversy on the Capeverdean orthography has surpassed the linguistic boundaries to become a political issue. The pro and con arguments have their roots in subjective judgment rather than an empirical basis.

The phoneme /č/ has been traditionally represented orthographically by the symbol <tch> as in <cretcheu> /krečeu/ "beloved". Eugenio Tavares, one of the first authors to write extensively in the Capeverdean language, had always represented the phoneme /č/ with the grapheme <tch>; and many other authors, such as Romano, Lopes da Silva, Barbosa, Vieira, respect the traditional representation and use the orthographic symbol <tch>, as in the word <tcheu> /čeu/ "many". (See examples given in 83.) The pro-Portuguese faction represents the phoneme /č/ with the digraph <ch>, as in the Portuguese word <chuva> /šuva/ "rain". (See examples given in 82.) Many Capeverdean writers are inconsistent in the orthography they use and sometimes write

<cretcheu> and other times <crecheu> for /kreceu/ "beloved". This inconsistency is so frequent that, at times, a poem may be written with two different orthographies, depending on the publisher:

(84)

Mentira pom credita
Como nha Lima é de meu:
Berdade pom zanima
Ja el flam como nos é cheu. (Tavares, 1932)

Mentira pom credita
Cumo nha Lima é de meu:
Berdade pom zanima
El flam cuma nos é tcheu. (Tavares, 1974)

On the basis of these differences in the orthographical representations of the phoneme /č/, we must put aside the political influences and analyze this problem from within the boundaries of linguistics. It should be pointed out that the phoneme /č/ is non-existent in the Portuguese sound system and that in the Capeverdean sound system we have both /č/ and /š/. These phonemes occur in all environments and no rules can be prescribed to indicate that the grapheme <ch> in certain environments represents the phoneme /č/ and in others the phoneme /š/.

In view of this, if /čota/ is represented by <chota> and /šote/ is represented by <chote>, both with the same grapheme <ch> in the initial position, in one instance the grapheme <ch> represents /č/ and in the other, it represents /š/. Since these two phonemes /č/ and /š/ are different, the phoneme-grapheme relationship should reflect this difference. Furthermore, supported by existing tendencies among living authors, we can prescribe a rule that states that the phoneme /č/ should be represented by the grapheme <tch> in all environments in the Capeverdean language.

An almost identical controversy arises with the phonemes /ǰ/ and /ž/. Like /č/ and /š/, the grapheme representations of /ǰ/ and /ž/ are also inconsistent. This stems from the same rationale for the the controversy of the phonemes /č/ and /š/. Again we are confronted with the same problem as in /č/ and /š/. The phoneme /ǰ/ is non-existent in the Portuguese sound system. In the Capeverdean language we have both the phonemes /ǰ/ and /ž/. Then, it would be useful and natural to systemize the differences in graphemic representations between the phoneme /ǰ/ and /ž/.

The argument for the pro-Portuguese orthography is that by eliminating the double consonant <dj> in the representation /ǰ/, the language becomes standardized. But this standardization is effective only from the Portuguese language viewpoint. This is again a subjective judgment and it lacks grounds for justification.

If the phonemes /ǰ/ and /ž/ are represented by the same grapheme, how can one prescribe rules that determine that the grapheme <ǰ> in certain environments is pronounced /ǰ/ and in others pronounced /ž/? Since we cannot prescribe any rules and the phonemes /ǰ/ and /ž/ are different, it is better to follow the tendency of a number of authors (see examples in (85)) to represent this phoneme: The phoneme /ǰ/ should be represented by the grapheme <dj> in all environments in the Capeverdean language.

Otherwise, it would be impossible to predict the pronunciation of /ǰanela/ "window", and /žanota/ "chic", if both /ǰ/ and /ž/ are represented by the same grapheme <j>. The phoneme /ǰ/ in /ǰanela/ and /ž/ in /zanota/ occur in the same environments. Therefore, we must prescribe the rules above to elicit the differences between /ǰ/ and /ž/. Otherwise, we will continue to have inconsistency in the representation of the phoneme /ǰ/, such as in the verse of Eugenio Tavares reproduced in (86) and (87).

(85) <dj> vs. <j> /ǰ/

Author	Orthography	Phonemics	Meaning
E. Tavares	djobe	/ǰobe/	search
	odja	/oǰa/	look
L. Romano	junto	/ǰuntu/	together
	ja	/ǰa/	already
G. Mariano	djongotudo	/ǰongutudu/	knelt
	codje	/koǰē/	pick up
J. P. Barbosa	Djom	/ǰon/	John
	dja	/ǰa/	already
A. Vieira	fidjo	/fiǰu/	son
	odjo	/oǰu/	eye

B. L. Silva	dja	/ǰa/	already
	djobe	/ǰobe/	search
S. Frusoni	Jon	/ǰon/	John
	mdjer	/mǰer/	woman

(86) *Manijas*

Nha spiam, 'n spia nha,
'N po *ojo* na nha más un bes:
Nha Mai ensinam pa'n fla:
Berbuncar ca fatos Dees. (Tavares, 1932)

(87) *Manidjas*

Nha spiam, 'n spia nha,
'N po *odjo* na nha un bes:
Nha Mai ensinam pa'n fla:
Berbuncar ca fatos Dees. (Tavares, 1974)

The controversy over the phoneme /k/ became strictly a political issue, especially during the years of struggle for independence. Many Capeverdean authors foresaw not only the need for a political independence but also a cultural independence, that is, a total rejection of Portuguese influences.

In the heat of this anti-Portuguese crusade, many Capeverdean writers went to extremes and proclaimed the assimilation of the Capeverdean culture with the African culture. This move has been denounced by a number of Capeverdean intellectuals (Lopes da Silva, Barbosa, Teixeira de Sousa, etc.) for not only is it unrealistic but it also defeats the whole purpose of a cultural independence. The fundamental objective of a cultural independence was to proclaim a Capeverdean identity by breaking away from the European themes and divulging the Capeverdean reality.

The Capeverdean poet, Kaoberdiano Dambara, is one of the leading forces in this complete separation from the Portuguese culture; he advocates an Africanization of the Cape Verde Islands. This is where the controversy over the phoneme /k/ began.

Until the onset of this movement, the grapheme <k> was not part of the Capeverdean orthography. The phoneme /k/ had been represented graphemically by the orthographical symbols of <c> or <qu> as in <casa> /kasa/ "house" and <queto> /ketu/ "quiet". Dambara decided it would be more "African" to represent the phoneme /k/ with the grapheme <k>. Such a radical change in the representation of /k/ would be difficult to accomplish, since it is not needed as much as the regularization of the use of the graphemes <tch> and <dj>. Although the use of the grapheme <k> is linguistically sound in the sense that it eliminates overdiffentiation of the phoneme /k/ into <c> and <qu>, and provides for one-to-one correspondence, the linguistic rationale of the grapheme <k> to represent the phoneme /k/ must be weighed against social attitudes of the people. As Nida (1963) pointed out:

> In general, of course, the greater the feeling of cultural insecurity, the more intense will be the response to the

> cultural pressure of the dominant language. For this reason, Indians in Spanish-speaking Latin America insist in so many instances that the /k/ in their language should be written as c before a, o, and u, and qu before in and e (p. 21).

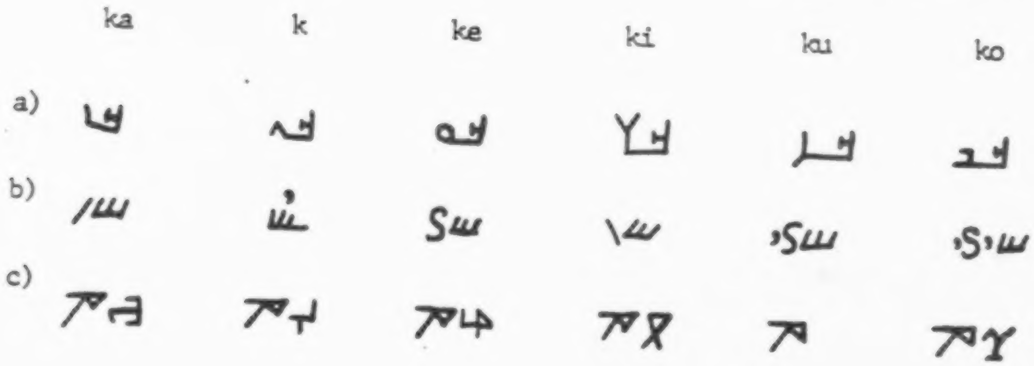
The same situation is true in Cape Verde; and since there is a clear cut rule which elicits the differences of usage of <c> and <qu> to represent the phoneme /k/, it should be retained.

According to the study of Dr. Lopes da Silva (1957), over 95% of the present Capeverdean vocabulary came from the Portuguese. If this is true, the Capeverdean orthography depends also, to some extent, on the Portuguese orthography. The word <casa> /kaza/ "house" has its roots in the Portuguese and is graphemically represented <casa>. It may be to our benefit to respect the traditional spelling of some words, and not force the orthography in order to satisfy ideologies that attempt to change the course of its normal evolution. We need to keep separate "language" and its written representations. We do not change the evolution of language by changing the spelling -- except in a few instances, e.g. often in English, which some people now pronounce with a medial /t/ although the earlier spoken form had none.

The rationale that the grapheme <k> possesses African characteristics is illogical on the grounds that in Africa, before the colonization, there was not a devised alphabet. Therefore, it was through the colonizers that the Roman alphabet reached Africa. Depending upon which colonial power explored a particular country, the language spoken there adopted the colonizers' orthographic symbols and adapted them to correspond to their sound system. Thus, those languages belonging to areas colonized by the British, Dutch or Germans incorporated the grapheme <k> to represent the phoneme /k/. Those languages belonging to areas colonized by the French, Portuguese, or Spanish based their alphabet on the corresponding colonial alphabet and represented the phoneme /k/ with the graphemes <c> and <qu>.

The attempt to introduce the grapheme <k> into the Capeverdean alphabet in order to "Africanize" the language is, in fact, a threat to the Capeverdean cultural independence, for it submerges the culture into a type of neo-colonialism. It would be, perhaps, more logical to base the Africanization arguments on those African syllabries belonging to languages that may have directly influenced the Capeverdean language:

(88) Sample characters from the indigenous scripts (Dalby, 1970)


ka
k
ke
ki
ku
ko
a)
b)
c)

a) Manding -- The Manding alphabet (with a total of 25 characters and 8 diacritics, including tonal diacritics, plus 10 decimal numerals) was devised around 1950 by Souleymane Kante of Kankan (Guinea).

b) Wolof -- The Wolof alphabet (with a total of 25 consonant characters and 7 diacritics and vocalic symbols, plus 10 decimal numerals) was invented around 1960 by Assane Faye of Dakar (Senegal).

c) Fula Dita -- The Fula Dita alphabet (with a total of 55 characters in its earliest form and 39 in its current form, plus 10 decimal numerals) was devised between 1958 and 1966 by Oumar Dembele of Bamako (Mali).

However, since these scripts were devised only in 1950, 1960 and 1958-66 respectively, they would offer no grounds for justification, as the Capeverdean alphabet was documented as early as the 17th century (Romano, 1982).

Besides the political influences which are obstacles to the regularization of the Capeverdean orthography, the fact that traditionally the Capeverdean alphabet has been mainly phonetic also presents some difficulty, since a particular phoneme may have different allophones, especially from island to island.

In order to reach a possible solution for the uniformity of the Capeverdean orthography, it would be recommended to base arguments for the regularization on both cultural-political factors and linguistic principles. This would eliminate a great deal of capricious grapheme representations of Capeverdean phonemes. We must keep in mind that "writing systems, after all, are cultural phenomena, used by people with feelings and emotions, with prejudices and fears" (Smalley, 1963, p. 13).

4.2 The Experiment

The proposed experiment was designed to elicit critical information that would enable us to strike a balance between linguistic principles and socio-cultural, psychological and pedagogical factors if we are to achieve a practical orthography which has linguistic validity and, at the same time, is acceptable by a majority of the people. Moreover, the orthography must take into account the existing writing systems already in use in Cape Verde, since any writing system that deviates a great deal from what people are accostomed to seeing would be considered revolutionary in nature, and thus be rejected.

In order to achieve our proposed goal, we adopted an experimental approach to orthography design that would reflect Smalley's five principles in so far as possible. Our experiment required the understanding of a series of tasks which we will now discuss in turn.

Variable 1 -- Maximum Motivation

As we have indicated, there are certain orthographic options which appear to be clearly related to the standard Portuguese orthography. In addition to the "qu"/"k" distinction mentioned earlier, we have identified the following: "tch"/"ch", "dj"/"j". We already know that many members of the educated Capeverdean stratum of society do not find the Portuguese forms objectionable -- quite the contrary. Other groups, notably the pro-independence and post-independence educated individuals, feel these forms are to be avoided. According to Veiga (1980), "a

Capeverdean writing system based in Portuguese orthography, not only puts the autonomy of Crioulo in danger, but also gives the sensation that Crioulo is no more than a corrupt form of Portuguese." We are not so sure that the future of the Capeverdean language depends so heavily on the looks of its orthography. These sociocultural factors are most important and they need to be tested empirically since the majority of literate Capeverdeans have never been canvassed. Moreover, we do not know just how strongly these groups who have voiced an opinion actually feel about the options.

The purpose of the experiment was to determine what preferences are held for these potentially emotion-laden choices. We accomplished this task by adopting the following strategy for data collection.

Data Collection

To collect the necessary data to ascertain what preferences Capeverdeans held in reference to graphemic representations, an indirect process of data collection was employed. This consisted of sending out samples of elementary readers written in our prototype alphabet and the alphabet proposed during the 1979 Mindelo Colloquium held in San Vincent, Cape Verde (see Appendix A). This alphabet is based on the phonetic principle and its major goal was to achieve a one-to-one correspondence between each grapheme and its corresponding phone. There are obvious problems with this proposal but we will return to this question later. A questionnaire was carefully developed asking questions that pertained to the content of the materials in reference to level, cultural bias, sex bias, etc. Respondents were also to evaluate the overall quality of the materials with respect to the appropriateness, sequencing, and grade level. We avoided asking direct questions regarding the orthography. We felt that in view of the ongoing debate over various competing orthographies in Cape Verde, the respondents would not remain neutral and would react one way or another toward the orthography used in the materials being evaluated. We hoped, however, that they would voice their opinion concerning the choice of orthography in the comment section provided after each question.

Sampling Procedure

In order to guarantee a representative sample of Capeverdean respondents, a probability sampling procedure was followed: This, we believed, would validate the inferences made about the various reactions recorded in the target population. Since the variables of sex, level of education, and geographic area of residence were important factors in our analysis, we employed a stratified sampling technique to ascertain that these subgroups were adequately sampled.

A list of Capeverdeans and their home addresses were obtained from Cpaeverdean organizations, social clubs and other agencies dealing with Capeverdeans in the United States. In Cape Verde, given the difficulty of distance, the Ministry of Education received a total of 150 questionnaires to be distributed using the same random procedures. A second set of 50 questionnaires was later sent after the investigators realized that, after many months of waiting, and numerous letters, phone calls, and telegrams, no responses were received from Cape Verde.

The list of Capeverdeans was stratified on the basis of sex, level of education, and area of residence. Once the list was stratified, a systematic sampling procedure was employed where a sampling interval was randomly selected. That is, from this list, every Capeverdean respondent was selcted in equal intervals to provide the desired population of 250 Capeverdeans residing in the United States and 250 living in Cape Verde. To insure randomness, the first respondent selected from the list was chosen randomly, then every tenth person after the proper interval was included in our survey.

Procedure

A three-page, typeset questionnaire was mailed to 250 Capeverdeans residing in the United States. The same questionnaire translated into Portuguese was sent to Cape Verde to be distributed to 200 randomly selected respondents. Fifty more questionnaires were later sent to be randomly distributed.

Along with the questionnaires, a cover letter was sent, emphasizing the importance of the materials evaluation and the development of literacy in Capeverdean. There was no mention regarding the orthography. The cover letter also gave explicit directions on how to fill out the questionnaire, and also what procedures to follow. A stamped, return-addressed envelope was also sent to Capeverdeans residing in the United States to facilitate and encourage a high return rate. The same procedure was propsed for the questionnaires sent to Cape Verde.

Data Analysis

Over 48% of the questionnaires were returned, including both surveys conducted in the United States and Cape Verde. We had an extremely high return rate of 70% in the United States; we received only 20% response in Cape Verde.

To analyze the data collected we used a Conversational Statistical Package T-Test. The computed t was 7.27 and number of degree of freedom associated with the obtained t value was 232. The 232 degrees of freedom require a t value of 2.576 for significance at the 0.01 percent level. The observed value of t is well above this figure, and the difference between means is statistically significant. The patterns that emerged from the data clearly indicate that the means are different. The result of the data analysis strongly show that, regarding the acceptance variable, our prototype orthography was statistically rated higher than the orthography proposed by the 1979 Mindelo Colloquium.

Variable 2 -- Maximum Representation of Speech

A major argument put forth by the proponents of the orthography espoused by the 1979 Mindelo Colloquium was the establishment of one-to-one correspondence between each grapheme and each phoneme. Although on the surface this orthography appears to have achieved a maximum representation of speech, upon closer analysis many problems readily arise. We will return to these problems shortly.

We compared the two orthographic systems by doing a grapheme count and the extent to which they are mapped onto the phonemic inventory discussed in section 1.0 of our phonological analysis. The orthography proposed by the 1979 Mindelo Colloquium did in fact achieve a greater representation of speech, with 10% advantage over our prototype orthography. However, this percentage differential proves to be statistically not significant.

The greater representation of speech found in the 1979 Mindelo Colloquium orhtography was true for the dialects of Sotavento, particularly the dialect of Santiago. This dialect served as the base for the proposed phonetic orthography.

Because the proposed phonetic orhtography was based solely on the dialects of Santiago, its correspondence with the phonemic systems of the other dialects, mainly those of Barlavento, decreased considerably. For example, if the orthography strictly adhered to one-grapheme-one-phoneme, the graphemic representation of /branku/ would be "branku" for Sotavento speakers, and "bronk" for Barlavento speakers. Words like /čuba/ would have two sets of graphemic representations: <tchuba> for Sotavento speakers, and <chuva> for Barlavento speakers. We could multiply these examples many times over. Moreover, the proposed phonetic alphabet fails to take into account the morphophonemic alterations as discussed in section 3.0. For instance, it fails to capture the generalization discussed in examples (33) reproduced below:

(33)

a)	gordu	"fat"	d)	gurdinhu	"little fat one"
b)	feiu	"ugly"	e)	fiinhu	"little ugly one"
c)	loja	"stone"	f)	lujinha	"little stone"

It also fails to determine that these morphophonemic alterations are phonologically conditioned and regular enough to permit the orthography to abstract away from them. This is particularly important in relation to the problem of dialect variation and the problems that these variations raise in any attempt to devise a uniform orthography for all Capeverdeans; for example, those dialects in which the final ending <s> merges phonetically with the independent /š/, graphemically represented in the proposed phonetic alphabet as <s>. In any event, this alphabet ignores those phonological processes clearly discussed in section 3.0. Cases like vowel harmony which are dialect specific would force different graphemic representation for each dialect if one adheres to the strict proposal of one grapheme for each phoneme. Also, the Mindelo proposal totally ignores the abundance of free variation across and within dialects as illustrated in section 2.0 of our study.

A more important drawback of a strictly phonetic alphabet is the fact that it totally ignores those pertinent sociocultural factors we discussed earlier. The result of the data analysis for Variable 1 clearly shows what preferences are held for orthographic choices. That is, an overwhelming number of people favored graphemic symbols which had been in use in the Capeverdean literature. Symbols like <tch> for /č/, among others, seem to have a psychological and cultural reality for the respondents in our survey.

These graphemes may have not only psychological and cultural significance for the Capeverdean reader, they may in fact facilitate direct access to meaning if we accept the theory that "a lexical route allows the retrieval of a word's meaning and phonology by means of direct, orthographic addressing of the lexicon" (Henderson, 1984, p. 14). In fact, English readers successfully assign correct pronunciation and meaning to words that violate the one-grapheme-one phoneme rule. An important point was raised by Henderson (1984), the fact that "heterographic homophones (words like the English pair CREWS and CRUISE, which have different spellings and meanings but identical pronunciations)...can be assigned the appropriate meaning without the use of context [creating] difficulties for theories which assert that words must be decoded into sound in order to gain access to their meaning" (p. 15).

Cases such as the heterographic homophones lend strong support to the claim that lexical ambiguity in spoken language is never solved by employing a reading strategy which uses the grapheme-phoneme association rule to attack the phonology of a word and later its meaning.

The questions that we have raised thus far bear on the issue of what is an optimal orthography. We agree with Henderson (1984) who views optimality as "an empirical and psychological matter, reducible to questions of how easily a child can learn to read an orthography, how quickly it can be written, how amenable it is to machine reproduction, how swiftly and effortlessly it can be read by the mature reader, and how readily comprehended" (p. 14). We will address some of these questions next.

Variable 3 -- Ease of Learning

One of the most important factors to be considered in the design of an orthography is the relative ease to which children and adults can learn to read it. Since this variable can be tested empirically, we designed a reading program in Capeverdean for the Capeverdean Bilingual Program in the Boston Public Schools to determine how well our prototype orthography meets the test of ease of learning.

Methodology

The ideal experimental design would include an experimental and a control group, both using the same reading materials and teaching technique, but different orthographies. That is, group A would be instructed using our prototype orthography while group B would receive reading instructions from materials written in the Mindelo orthography. Unfortunately, due to the lack of materials written in the latter orthography, we were unable to implement an optimal experiment design. Nonetheless, we were able to use materials written in our prototype orthography, since it has been incorporated in the reading books in Capeverdean developed and published by the National Portuguese Materials Development Center at Brown University.

In view of the lack of reading materials printed in the Mindelo orthography, coupled with time and resource constraints in our research study, we opted to test Capeverdean elementary students in Boston public schools, learning to read their native language, using our prototype orthography. We wanted to discover what they find easy and difficult, and in relevant cases, what they find different from the English orthography they are using in their English as a Second Language classes.

Subjects

Five Capeverdean elementary students ranging from first to third grades were selected. The selection process was based on previous experience with reading. Even though these students differed in chronological age, they had not been schooled in Cape Verde. The result is that they were all illiterate. We avoided the inclusion of students who had been taught reading in either Portuguese, if they were recent arrivals from Cape Verde, or in English, in their English as a Second Language classes. This restriction on the selection process greatly reduced, the number of students included in our study. Nevertheless, we were confident that we would be able to collect important data regarding the effectiveness of our orthography.

Teacher Training

To assess the practical value of our prototype orthography, we trained four Capeverdean Bilingual teachers in Boston public schools whose native language is Capeverdean. These teachers enrolled in a graduate course in Teaching Reading to Bilingual Students at the University of Massachusetts during the spring semester, taught by Macedo. Three of the four teachers were also enrolled in a Capeverdean Linguistics course at the same university. These courses familiarized them with the trial orthography, and assisted them in preparing reading materials and how to plan and teach Capeverdean students to read in their native language using this orthography. These teachers were also exposed to contemporary approaches to reading, particularly the theories of reading in bilingual classrooms.

Experimental Procedure

Four Capeverdean Bilingual teachers spent three months during the fall, 1984, teaching five Capeverdean-speaking students in their elementary schools to read in Capeverdean, using materials written in our prototype orthography. These materials, as we said, were developed at Brown University and had been widely pilot-tested. During the three month period we monitored the progress made by the students and the views of the teachers concerning the orthography. Teachers were expected to assess students' oral reading errors in reference to

a. repetition
b. insertion
c. substitution
d. omission
e. hesitation

The investigators, mainly Macedo, met periodically with the teachers as well, to learn from the teachers' perceptions concerning the strengths and weakenesses of the prototype orthography, particularly where mistakes were being made. We were not aware of any formal evaluation measure for the testing of a new orthography; and we believed that with the present state-of-the-art, direct, personal and continual contact with the participants in the experiment would provide insightful information. In addition, we were concerned with the general reading successes and failures of the students involved in the experiment.

Materials

Materials used in our experiment were developed by the Portuguese Materials Development Center at Brown University. They were developed as part of a sequencial curriculum appropriate to elementary reading programs. They included reading objectives and methods characteristic of major curricula used throughout the American school system. The following materials were used:

1. Reading Readiness Book
2. First Grade Reader
3. Students Book
4. Students Exercise Book

Samples of these materials are included in Appendix B. Each lesson specified the objective, material to be used, vocabulary to be presented, method of teaching, activities as follow-up, and evaluation procedure.

Tests

A criterion-referenced achievement test was developed in Capeverdean, designed to assess the students' reading skills development. The test consisted of auditory discrimination, phoneme-grapheme correspondence, word attack skills, word picture association, and comprehension. The test was designed to take approximately 50 minutes, administered over two separate sessions.

Data Analysis

Students were pre-tested in September, 1984 to ascertain their reading level. Since all of them were illiterate, no test scores were recorded. The same students were post-tested in late November, 1984. Based on the performance on these tests, a rating of their reading and language arts skills in Capeverdean was obtained.

All of these students made significant gains in both reading and language arts, with the following mean score ($\bar{x}$ = 88) in reading, ($\bar{x}$ = 85) in language arts. The teachers reported no significant reading problems which could be directly related to the orthography.

Although the rest of the Capeverdean students reading in English were not systematically compared with those receiving reading instructions in Capeverdean, the teachers remarked that the latter were outperforming those Capeverdean students introduced to reading directly in English. One teacher further stated that these students were doing better in reading than Capeverdean students who had previous reading instructions in Portuguese in Cape Verde.

Since our objective was to discover general information about the ease-of-learning variables in the prototype orthography, our goal was not to compare these groups with respect to reading achievement in the native language versus reading in the second language. For this reason we did not follow any experimental procedure that would provide us with valid and reliable comparison data. However, these informal observations cited by the teachers in our experiment are corroborated by research findings that clearly show that students learn to read faster and with better comprehension when taught in their native language.

Adult Readers

Twenty-one adult readers schooled in Portuguese were tested in oral reading of a standard passage written in Capeverdean. The same passage was written in both our orthography and Mindelo's.

These individuals were asked to read the passage in both orthographies. The duration of the reading was approximately two minutes for each passage.

Our concern with this task was to determine the type of errors they would commit, specifically with respect to the following: repetition, insertion, substitution, omission, hesitation. All participants had only completed the fourth grade. There were twelve women and nine men.

To analyze the data collected, a Conversational Statistical Package Chi-Square was used. The value of Chi-square required for significance at the 0.01 level for 4 degrees of freedom was

13.28. The result obtained clearly shows that the two variables are independent. Adults performed better while reading our prototype orthography. With the exception of substitution, they consistently made fewer errors of repetition, insertion, omission and hesitation. Adult reader made more substitution errors while reading our prototype orthography; however, the mean difference was small.

The positive results obtained with adult readers may be due to orthographic image. That is, these readers were obviously more accustomed to graphemic symbols used in the prototype orthography than the Mindelo alphabet. This alphabet uses technical symbols such <ĵ>, <ĉ>, etc. which represent radical change with respect to visual images of words. To the extent that graphemic symbols have both cultural and psychological reality, any radical change in the orthography may cause reading disruption. Pring (1981) reported that "pronunciation assignment was selectively disrupted when case change within a word perturbed the visual appearance of a digraph (e.g. in the second *ch* of CHUR*ch*)." In the Mindelo orthography the pertubation of the visual appearance of graphemic symbols is much greater. For instance, the traditional <ch> used widely in Capeverdean literature was changed to <ŝ>. The trigraph <tch> which abounds in *mornas* about the lost *cretcheu* (loved one) was replaced by <ĉ>. We feel that orthographic images play an important role in visual analysis of words, and the greater number of errors made by the adult readers dealing with the Mindelo orthography were probably due to the disruption of visual familiarlity of orthographic symbols.

Variable 4 -- Ease of Learning

It has been suggested that in cases where a minority language coexists with a dominant language, the orthography of the minority language should, as much as possible, facilitate the transference of skills from one orthography to another (Smalley, 1963). This proposal assumes that the more the minority language is identified with the prestige orthography with which it exists the less readers feel that their orthography appears to be substandard. Of more import is the claim that once the child has learned that a particular graphemic symbol represents a specific phoneme in one language, this same skill is easily transferable to the second language. In the Capeverdean case, if a child learns to read in Capeverdean, the skill that associates the digraph <ch> with the phoneme /š/ is also applicable to Portuguese reading. The learning of <ŝ> in the Mindelo alphabet to represent the phoneme /š/ puts the Capeverdean child in a situation where she or he has to learn two different grapheme-morpheme association rules.

These questions should be empirically tested. Unfortunately, we were unable to do so. Since the Capeverdean language will always coexist with the Portuguese language in Cape Verde, the ease of transfer factor should play an important role in the orthography design process. Empirical evidence would provide conclusive evidence as to the extent that Smalley's claim proves to be significant. If he is correct, our prototype orthography has a definite advantage over the Mindelo alphabet. This is so due to the greater number of graphemes our orthography shares with the Portuguese orthography.

Without evidence to the contrary, we will adhere to Smalley's recommendation and assume that the graphemic percentage advantage enjoyed by our prototype orthography will facilitate the acquisition of reading in Portuguese. It is important to note that Portuguese is the official language, and all students who advance in the curriculum must become literate in Portuguese.

However, if empirical findings should prove the contrary, our prototype orthography would have to be completely modified to establish an orthography image very different from Portuguese. It is this image difference that led Veiga (1982) to assert that the future of the Capeverdean language autonomy depended on the extent to which it differed from Portuguese. At any rate, the ease-of-learning variable must be carefully weighted against variables 1 and 2. In cases where ease of learning is pitted against variables 1 and 2, the latter should win out.

Variable 5 -- Ease of Reproduction

We checked the typewriters and other printing equipment presently available in Cape Verde, and we concluded that both orthographies can be easily reproduced using the existing machines. Therefore, both orthographies have equal weight with respect to variable 5.

4.3 The Proposed Orthography

The proposed Capeverdean alphabet is, as we have advocated throughout this chapter, a balance between phonemic principles and socio-cultural factors. This balance is an effective means to achieve a practical orthography which has linguistic validity and, at the same time, is accepted by the majority of the people. This practical alphabet is designed also with the goal in mind of motivating Capeverdeans to read in their native tongue. For this reason, the findings obtained in the data analysis for the motivation variable 1 must play a major role in our choice of graphemic selections. The data analysis for variable 1 clearly indicates that Capeverdeans preferred those graphemic symbols with which they were visually accustomed. These graphemes had over time acquired a cultural identity that the readers did not want to fracture. Therefore, the proposed alphabet is based largely on existing writing systems already in use in Capeverdean literature. In view of the fact that the Capeverdean language has been written for over a century and there is an extensive written literature (although not uniform), any writing system that deviates a great deal from what people are used to seeing would violate the orthography image, and thus would be rejected. Bearing in mind the results obtained in variables 1 and 3, and taking into consideration the factors of trasfer of Capeverdean reading skills into Portuguese (the Portuguese language coexists with the Capeverdean language and is the official language of the country as well as the only medium of instruction at the present time), our proposed orthography hopes to accomplish the following: a) achieve maximum uniformity in the graphemic representation of the Capeverdean language; while at the same time it must b) be acceptable to the majority of people. We have in mind the abundance of dialect variations discussed in section 2.0 and the rivalries that exist among the various dialects in Cape Verde.

Inherent in the accpetance of our proposed alphabet, we hope, is a motivation factor that would enable Capeverdeans to learn to read in their own language and rise up from illiteracy. Once literacy programs begin to incorporate the Capeverdean language as a medium of instruction, the populace will begin to free itself from a type of neo-colonialism which is intimately tied to the Portuguese language domination still present in Cape Verde. Only then can Capeverdeans move toward the creation of their own cultural identity and independence. Furthermore, the usage of the Capeverdean language in education forces the daily cultivation of its linguistic structures, making the language more and more an indispensible vehicle of communication in all aspects of Capeverdean life.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /i/

The phoneme /i/ will be represented by <i> in the initial and medial positions; in the final position /i/ will be written with the grapheme <e> as in <de>=/di/. The rationale behind the latter symbol is that the phoneme /e/ alternates with the phoneme /i/ within and across dialects. (See 2.7.1.4.) For instance, in the dialects of Sotavento /e/ is sometimes realized as /i/ in the medial position whereas in the dialects of Barlavento /e/ occurs in the same environment. According to our analysis of the diminutives in section 3.1, the final class marker vowel affixation rule does not apply for the Barlavento dialects. Hence, the stem is not affected at the Inflectional Level, remaining the same when it surfaces as a word. In order to avoid capricious graphemic representations of this vowel alternation, it is recommended that in the final position it be always represented by <e>. The prescription of <e> in the final position does not alter the pronunciation of the final consonantal segment of the Barlavento stem, maintaining orthographic transparency. Furthermore, the use of the grapheme <e> allows for easier transfer into Portuguese since the same orthographic symbol is used to represent final /e/ in this language and with which /i/ alternates in Capeverdean (variable 4). In addition, the selection of <e> to represent /i/ in the final position respects current trends among living authors who are more and more favoring the grapheme <e> over <i> in that environment. For the Sotavento dialects, an orthographic rule will be prescribed that states that unaccented final <e> will be pronounced as /i/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /e/

The phoneme /e/ will be represented by the grapheme <e> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In the final position, an acute accent (´) will serve to indicate stress and to differentiate it from the phoneme /i/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /u/

The phoneme /u/ will be represented by the grapheme <u> in the initial and medial positions. In the final position it will be written with the grapheme <o>. This will satisfy the dialect variation where in Barlavento the second-person personal pronoun is realized as /bo/ and in Sotavento as /bu/ as seen in 2.7.1.7. In the past, both the grapheme <o> and <u> have been used to represent the phoneme /u/. However, the recommendation to use the grapheme <o> over <u> in the final position is made for the following reasons: a) to be in harmony with the existing writing system, and b) to allow for maximum transfer into Portuguese (our variable 4). The Portuguese phoneme /u/ in the final position is also represented by the grapheme <o>. Hence, an orthographic rule can be prescribed which states that the phoneme /u/ in the final position is to be represented by the grapheme <o> always.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /o/

The phoneme /o/ will be represented by the grapheme <o> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In the final position an acute accent (´) will be used to indicate stress and to differentiate it from the phoneme /u/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /a/

The phoneme /a/ will be represented by the grapheme <a> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In the final position an acute accent (´) will be used to indicate stress and to differentiate it from /ə/. Normally, the phoneme /a/ only occurs in the final position when it is stressed. In instances where dialectal variation results in alterations of the phoneme /a/ with /u/ as in 2.7.1.10; with /e/ as in 2.7.1.11; with /o/ as in 2.7.1.9, the spelling should reflect the underlying form which is /a/. Rules (53) and (54) in our discussion of vowel harmony clearly demonstrate that /a/ is the underlying form for the variations /o/ and /e/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /p/

The phoneme /p/ will be represented by the grapheme <p> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /b/

The phoneme /b/ will be represented by the grapheme <b> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In instances where dialectal variation results in alteration of the phoneme /b/ with /v/ as in 2.8.1.1; with /g/ as in 2.8.1.2; with /p/ as in 2.8.1.3, the form containing /b/ should be the norm, and be strictly written with the grapheme <b>. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to achieve any kind of uniformity. In addition, it will maximize the orthographic transparency (our variable 2).

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /m/

The phoneme /m/ will be represented with the grapheme <m> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /t/

The phoneme /t/ will be represented by the grapheme <t> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /d/

The phoneme /d/ will be represented by the grapheme <d> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In instances where dialectal variation results in alternation of the phoneme /d/

with /t/ as in 2.8.1.4; with /r/ as in 2.8.1.5, the spelling should reflect the form /d/, using the grapheme <d>, in order to achieve uniformity, and to also achieve maximum representation of speech (our variable 2).

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /n/

The phoneme /n/ will be represented by the grapheme <n> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /k/

The phoneme /k/ will be represented by the graphemes <c> in the environment of /a/, /o/, /u/ and <qu> in the environment of /e/ and /i/. The rationale for such orthographic representation is extensively discussed in the sociocultural section. In addition, our recommendation is based on the results obtained from variable 1 in our experiment, and variable 4 as well. In instances where the phoneme /k/ alternates with /g/ as in 2.8.1.8; with /č/ as in 2.8.1.9, the phoneme /k/ should continue to override the others, and be represented by the graphemes discussed herein.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /g/

The phoneme /g/ will be represented by the grapheme <g> in the environment of /a/, /o/, /u/ and by the digraph <gu> in the environment of /e/ and /i/. To satisfy variables 1 and 4, in instances where dialectal variations result in alternation of the phoneme /g/ with /ǰ/ as in 2.8.1.12; with /k/ as in 2.8.1.13, the phoneme /g/ should be represented by the graphemes <g> or <gu> as stated in the rule above.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /ñ/

The phoneme /ñ/ will be represented by the digraph <nh> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. We may note that this digraph achieves a one-to-one correspondence. In addition, there is no indication that digraphs are detrimental in the reading acquisition process (Henderson, 1984).

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /f/

The phoneme /f/ will be represented by the grapheme <f> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /v/

The phoneme /v/ will be represented by the grapheme <v> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. However, it is important to note that the phoneme /v/ has a very low functional load in Capeverdean and is mostly observed in words directly borrowed from the Portuguese lexicon.

The Graphemic Representation of Phoneme /s/

The phoneme /s/ will be represented by the grapheme <s> in all positions of the Capeverdean language. This reflects a change from our earlier position where we recommended that <s> be used only when preceded by a consonant as in /kursu/=<curso>, and <ss> be used in intervocalic position. In words directly borrowed from the Portuguese lexicon and with a very low functional load, the phoneme /s/ is sometimes represented by <c> as in /fasadə/:<façada>. Our rationale for this change is that variable 2, maximum representation of speech, is more important than variable 4, ease of transfer.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /z/

The phoneme /z/ will be represented by the grapheme <z> in all positions. The rationale for the change in deleting two graphemes to represent /z/ is the same as above. We believe that by eliminating multiple graphemes to represent /z/ we will achieve greater representation of speech and economny.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /š/

The phoneme /š/ will be represented by the digraph <ch> in the initial and medial positions. In the final position, when it occurs, /š/ is written with the grapheme <s> because here /š/ alternates with /s/ as illustrated in 2.8.1.11. The grapheme <x> was also used to represent /š/ but only in a few words that were borrowed directly from Portuguese, such as /šarutu/: <xaruto> "cigar". We have decided to eliminate <x> from our proposed orthography to satisfy variable 1.

The Graphic Representation of the Phoneme /ž/

The phoneme /ž/ will be represented by the grapheme <j> in the initial and medial positions. In the final position it only occurs in few words in the dialetcs of Barlavento where it alternates with /z/. Therefore, we suggest that it be represented by the grapheme <z>.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /č/

The phoneme /č/ will be represented by the trigraph <tch> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. A lengthy discussion on the use of the trigraph <tch> is found in the sociocultural section. In instances where dialectal variation results in alternation of /č/ and /š/, as in 2.8.1.14, the spelling should reflect the form with /č/ and be written with the trigraph <tch>, since the frequency of usage for /č/ is much greater than /š/. We must note that in our testing of variable 3, ease of learning, there were no reports of learning difficulty directly linked to the multiple graphemes to represent the phoneme /č/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /ǰ/

The phoneme /ǰ/ will be represented by the digraph <dj> in the environment of /a/, /o/, /u/. A detailed discussion on the usage of these graphemes is found in the sociocultural section. In instances where dialectal variation results in alternations of /ǰ/ and /g/ as in 2.8.1.17, /ǰ/ should be written with the digraph given herein.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /l/

The phoneme /l/ will be represented by the grapheme <l> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. In instances where dialectal variation results in alternation of /l/ and /r/ as in 2.8.1.18; with /i/ as in 2.8.1.19; with /d/ as in 2.8.1.20, the phoneme /l/ should be represented by the grapheme <l> always.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /ļ/

The phoneme /ļ/ will be represented by the digraph <lh> in all positions in the Capeverdean language. The occurance of /ļ/ is rare and is limited to those words directly borrowed from the Portuguese lexicon. In the majority of cases, the phoneme /ļ/ in Portuguese words is realized as /ǰ/ as seen in 2.8.1.21, and should be represented accordingly.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /r/

The phoneme /r/ will be represented by the grapheme <r> in the medial and final positions in the Capeverdean language. In instances where dialectal variation results in alternations of /r/ and /l/ as in 2.8.1.22; with /d/ as in 2.8.1.23; with /i/ as in 2.8.1.24, the form with /r/ should be chosen and be written with the grapheme <r>.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /R/

The phoneme /R/ will be represented by the grapheme <r> in the initial position and <rr> in the medial position in the Capeverdean language. This will differentiate minimal pairs such as <caro> /karu/ and <carro> /kaRu/.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /y/

The phoneme /y/ will be represented by the grapheme <i> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

The Graphemic Representation of the Phoneme /w/

The phoneme /w/ will be represented as <u> in all positions in the Capeverdean language.

Diacritic Marks

The following diacritic marks will be used in the Capeverdean orthography. The number of diacritics will be kept to a minimum avoiding overdifferentiation which was characteristic of the traditonal Capeverdean written material. The usage of excessive and unnecessary diacritic marks makes the text look awkward and cumbersome.

1. (´) acute accent to indicate stress in final position
2. (ˆ) circumflex accent to indicate verb ending
3. (!) exclamation mark
4. (,) comma
5. (;) semi-colon
6. (:) colon
7. (?) question mark
8. (.) period

Nasalization Rule

Nasalization should be represented graphemically by an <m> before /p/ and /b/ and <n> in all other environments.

Deletion Rule

In those dialects in which the deletion rule applies, the respective vowels or consonants should be represented graphemically.

Truncation Rule

In all those instances where the truncation rule is observed, the graphemic level should represent this phenomenon. That is, /tene el/ which becomes /tenel/ will be written graphemically as <tenel>.

***

The practical Capeverdean orthography that is being recommended here represents what we believe to be the maximum balance between phonemic principles and socio-cultural factors. Nevertheless, revisions will most likely be necessary. However, such revisions are impossible without the feedback of the people who will have used this orthography. Hence, we will continue to pilot test the proposed orthography with groups of students who are learning to read in the Capeverdean bilingual programs in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. The pilot testing will be in the form of an experiment whereby one group of students will work with materials written in our orthography while another group will use materials written in the Mindelo alphabet. Pre- an post-tests will be given to both groups to see if there will be a significant difference between them in reading acquisition. The ongoing pilot testing of our orthography will enable us to receive feedback from teachers and students working with our orthography as to which areas need adaptation and which are the good features of the orthography. After the recommendations of those involved in the pilot tests, we will make a final revision, especially in those areas which need adaptation. After these final necessary changes, a standardized Capeverdean orthography will be prescribed.

The Proposed Orthography

Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
/i/	<i> <e>	/f/	<f>
/e/	<e>	/v/	<v>
/u/	<u> <o>	/s/	<s>
/o/	<o>	/z/	<z>
/a/	<a>	/š/	<ch> <s>
/p/	<p>	/ž/	<j>
/b/	<b>	/č/	<tch>
/m/	<m>	/ǰ/	<dj>
/t/	<t>	/l/	<l>
/d/	<d>	/ļ/	<lh>
/n/	<n>	/r/	<r>
/k/	<c> <qu>	/R/	<r> <rr>
/g/	<g> <gu>	/y/	<i>
/ñ/	<nh>	/w/	<u>

The consonant cluster /ks/ will be represented as <x> as is usually written in words borrowed into Cápeverdean.

Notes

1. "Upper-language" is used in pidgin and creole literature to refer to the language spoken by the dominant group, such as the Continental Europeans (English, French, Portuguese, Spanish), as distinguished from the African languages spoken by the slaves and regarded as "lower-languages".

2. We treat this structure as the threshold separating the core grammar from the periphery. We would expect and indeed we would want to find more abstract structures which characterize the nature of COMP. For further discussion on this topic, see Chomsky and Lasnik (1977) and Chomsky (1981).

3. We are not adhering to the tradional distinction between pidgin and creole. We are treating the two systems as interpenetrating realms of the same linguistic development phenomenon.

4. Both Jamaican and Hawaiian creoles are based on English, a language with which they share many of the features characterized as pidgin and creole features. Some linguists have suggested that English had undergone a similar pidginization process as the result of the contact of English with Old Norse and Norman French. (Charles-James N. Bailey, 1974. "Some suggestions for Greater Consensus in Creole Terminology". In David DeCamp and Ian F. Hancock, (eds.) Pidgins and Creoles: Current Trends and Prospects. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.)

5.0 CAPEVERDEAN LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXT

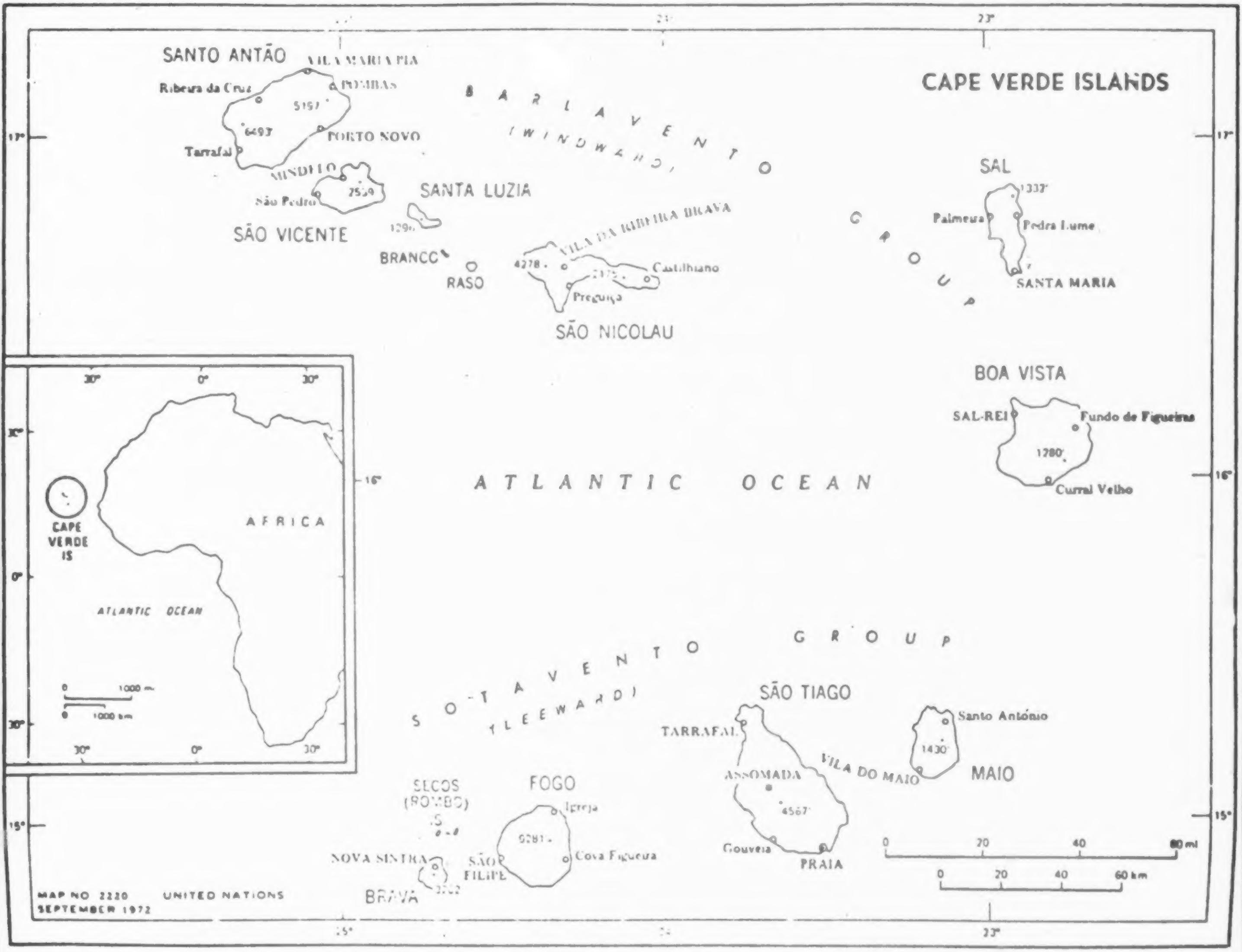
Geographical and Historical Notes

The archipelago of Cape Verde is located in the Atlantic Ocean approximately 385 miles off the west coast of Africa, directly across from Dakar, Senegal. The archipelago is comprised of ten islands and five islets. These islands are divided into two groups, the leeward and the windward. On the leeward side are the islands of Santo Antao, Sao Vicente, Sao Nicolau, Boavista, Sal, and the islets of Branco and Raso. The windward group is made up of four islands, Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava, as well as the islets of Grande, Luis Carneiro, and Sapado.

As evidenced by the mostly mountaneous terrain, the islands of Cape Verde are of volcanic origin, displaying volcano peaks and craters. Plains are less frequently found in the archipelago, except on the island of Sal, which is characterized by flatlands and mere 300 meter hills. As a result, Sal is the site of the island's only international airport.

Cape Verde was initially discovered in 1460, by Diogo Gomes and Antonio da Noli, the latter a navigator from Genoa who had been working for the Portuguese throne. They first approached the island of Santiago. The Portuguese navigator, Diogo Afonso, discovered the rest of the islands between the years 1461 and 1462.

There have been a number of conflicting claims concerning earlier purported discoveries of the Capeverdean islands. Cadamosto, a navigator from Venice, claims to have discovered the island between 1455 and 1456. Others theorize that the


CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
SANTO ANTÃO
VILA MARIA PIA
Ribeira da Cruz
POMBAS
5157
6493
PORTO NOVO
Tarrafal
MINDELO
2539
São Pedro
SÃO VICENTE
SANTA LUZIA
1296
BRANCO
RASO
BARLAVENTO GROUP
(WINDWARD)
VILA DA RIBEIRA BRAVA
4278
2175
Castilhiano
Preguiça
SÃO NICOLAU
SAL
1332
Palmeira
Pedra Lume
SANTA MARIA
BOA VISTA
SAL-REI
Fundo de Figueiras
1280
Curral Velho
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOTAVENTO GROUP
(LEEWARD)
SÃO TIAGO
TARRAFAL
ASSOMADA
4567
Gouveia
PRAIA
VILA DO MAIO
Santo António
1430
MAIO
SECOS (ROMBO) IS
FOGO
Igreja
9281
Cova Figueira
NOVA SINTRA
SÃO FILIPE
2202
BRAVA
0 20 40 60 mi
0 20 40 60 km
17°
16°
15°
25°
24°
23°
MAP NO 2220 UNITED NATIONS
SEPTEMBER 1972
AFRICA
CAPE VERDE IS
ATLANTIC OCEAN
30°
0°
0 1000 mi
0 1000 km

Africans on the west coast had used the Cape Verde islands as fishing grounds, based on an inscription found on the island at the time of the Portuguese discovery. However, no one hypothesis has provided sufficient evidence to be considered conclusive, and the fact remains that when Diogo Gomes and Antonio da Noli disembarked on the islands, they found them uninhabited. It was not until their return voyage that the colonization of the beautiful green valleys commenced.

The explorers began their expedition on the island of Santiago, which was later divided into two domains. In the south, Diogo Gomes and his followers settled in Vila de Alcatrazes; but this settlement was short-lived and altogether abandoned in 1516. In 1462 Antonio da Noli and some settlers founded the first town in the Valley of Ribeira Grande. Many of them came from Portugal in possession of tools and building materials which were used in the construction of the first town houses and marketplace in this valley. The ruins of this ancient town are well preserved at the original site known today as "Cidade Velha."

From the coast of Guinea all the way to Sierra Leone, the ships of the Empire arrived at the seashore of Ribeira Grande full of slaves. With their arrival, the influence of their architectural ingenuity began to sprout as the "palhotas de tabanca" (African huts) were constructed alongside colonial villas, giving this new settlement a unique and exotic color.

The slaves tamed the wild land, cultivating the rocky hills and covering them with vegetation. As Carreira has stated,

> O desenvolvimento das exploracoes agro-pecuarias dependia, por consequencia, de determinada forca de trabalho. O europeu, para alem do seu reduzido numero, nao tinha resistencia fisica para executar os trabalhos de lavoura e outros a eles inerentes, num clima tropical. Por outro lado, a sua posicao de senhor nao lhe consentia, sem quebra de prestigio social, a feitura de tarefas manuais. (1)

Most of the slaves working on the island of Santiago and then, in turn, on the other islands as they were settled, were known as "filhados", or domestic slaves. The rest of the Negro population made up an extremely prosperous slave industry in Cape Verde.

> Avaliadas as possibilidades de fixacao, e reconhecida a privilegiada situacao geografica do arquipelago, fez-se o povamento com escravos filhados na costa africana. A breve trecho Santiago servia de ponto de apoio a navegacao dirigida ao golfo de Guine, Costa de Angola, S. Tome e depois ao Brasil. Base de apoio e de aprovisionamento e querenagem de navios e, simultaneamente, de concentracao de escravos trazidos dos rios da Guine, a fim de serem ladinizados e exportados. (2)

1
Antonio Carreira, _Migracoes nas Ilhas de Cabo Verde_ (Lisboa: Universidade de Nova Lisboa, 1976), p. 26: The development of the exploration depended, as a consequence, on a certain work force, e.g., the slaves. The European, over and above his reduced numbers, did not have the physical strength to execute heavy labor and other related work, in a tropical climate. Furthermore, his position of master did not allow him, without loss of prestige, to do manual work.

2
Ibid. p. 25. Once the possibilities of settlement were evaluated and the priviledged geographical location of the archipelago was recognized, the settlement with slaves from the African cost began. In a short period of time, Santiago was functioning as a link to the navigation directed to the gulf of Guinea, the Angolan coast, Saint Thomas, and later to Brazil. It served as a base of support and of provisioning and dry docks for ships and, simultaneously, of concentration of slaves brought from the rivers of Guinea with the goal of becoming 'ladinizados' and exported.

From the factory in Cape Verde, slaves were exported to different parts of the world in sizable numbers.

> Por los primeiros tiempos de la trata de bozales y en epocas posteriores se enviaron tambien desde Cabo Verde a las colonias espanolas y portuguesas del Nuevo Mundo esclavos de origen fula ... Otra casta de africanos que se exporta desde Cabo Verde, durante el siglo XVI, con destino a las colonias del Caribe y a la Nueva Espana (a donde llegaron en considerable contingente, segun Aguirre Beltran), lo fue de los biafaras. (3)

According to a survey done in 1582, the slaves greatly[4] outnumbered the white settlers, as shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1

Brancos e pardos (whites and mixed)	600
Pretos forros casados	400
Moradores	300
Escravos (Slaves)	13,700

The role of the white settler was mainly that of administration, while the bulk of labor was labored by the slaves. It was through this relationship that eventually, as Antonio Carreira, pointed out, in the Capeverdean society "esbocou-se uma

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[3] Manuel A. Nazario, *El elemento afronegroide en el espanol de Puerto Rico* (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1974), pp. 46-47. In the beginning of the trade of 'bazales; and in later times, slaves of Fula origin were sent from Cape Verde to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the New World ... Other African casts that were exported from Cape Verde during the XVI century destined for the Caribbean colonies and the New Spain (where they arrived in considerable numbers) were the 'Biafaras.'

[4] Antonio Carreira, *Migracoes nas Ilhas de Cabo Verde* (Lisboa: Universidade de Nova Lisboa, 1976). p. 27.

estrutura socio-proficional que so muito tarde teve a desejada solidez e expansao."[5] To this socio-professional structure was added the growing intimacy between the "sobrado" (colonial villa) and the "palhota de tabanca" (African hut) giving birth to the mulatto society which now constitutes the majority of the population of Cape Verde. (See Table 1.2)[6]

Table 1.2

	1940	1950	1960
Brancos	5,759	2,913	2,703
Pretos	57,722	39,129	39,129
Mistos	116,910	103,251	157,816
Outros	1,077	75	13

In the crossing of these races, there was a fusion of the African and European cultures, creating new characteristics and behavior patterns peculiar to neither Africa nor Europe but only to Cape Verde.

This symbiosis of culture and blood was solidified by the creation and development of a unique language, the vehicle by which the Capeverdean people believe they may best express their innermost feelings. The Capeverdean language is spoken by over 95% of the approximately 300,000 people. The actual number if

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[5] Ibid, p. 27: A socio-professional structure developed which only much later obtained the desired soundess and expansion.

[6] Tomas Ferreira L. Benros, "Alguns Aspectos Fonologicos do Crioulo de Cabo Verde," Unpublished manuscript.

Capeverdean-speaking people is double or triple this number when taking into account the immigrants to other parts of the world. Countries which have absorbed the Capeverdean immigration are the United States, Brazil, the Netherlands, Portugal, France, and the African countries of Guine-Bissau, Senegal, Angola, Mozambique, and S. Tome.

Although some Capeverdeans have left their mother country, they have maintained their language and have passed it on to their descendents. It is not at all uncommon to find second and even third generation Capeverdean-Americans speaking the Capeverdean language. It is through this language that they reminisce about the beloved lands in the lyrics of the melodic "mornas." For instance, Capeverdean gatherings and parties in the United States ritually end with "Hora de Bai," a morna by the great Capeverdean poet Eugenio Tavares:

> Hora de bai
> Hora de dor,
> Ja'n q're
> Pa el ca manche!
> De cada bez
> Que 'n ta lembra,
> Ma'n q're [7]
> Fica 'n morre! ...

The Capeverdean language also serves as an escape for sentimental expression and a vehicle for denuciation of social injustice. As an example, we have the chant "Finacom" which is an anonymous composition:

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[7] Manuel Ferreira, No Reino de Caliban (Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1975), p. 296: Hour of departure,/Hour of grief,/Would that it/Might never dawn!/ Everytime/I remember it,/I want to/Stay and die! (Translation - Arthur Lomba).

Branco ta mora na sobrado
Mulato to mora na loja
Negro ta mora na funco
Santcho ta mora na rotcha

Ta bem um dia
Nho Trasco Lambasco
Rosto frangido
Rabo comprido

Ta corre co negro de funco
Negro ta corre co mulato de loja
Mulato co branco de sobrado [8]
Branco ta tomba na rotcha, el ta tomba.

The language spoken by Capeverdean is the direct result of the contact between the Portuguese of 1462 and the African vernaculars, giving rise to the pidginized Portuguese. It was later creolized as it was nativized by the offspring of the consumation between "sobrado" and the "palhota de tabanca."

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[8] Russel G. Hamilton, *Voices From an Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1975), p. 252: White man lives in the mansion,/Mulato lives in the store,/Black man lives in the shack,/Sancho lives on the rock.//A day will come,/Mr. Tasco Lambasco,/Wrinkled face,/Long tail,/Will run with the black man of the shack,/The black man will run with the mulatto of the store,/The mulatto will run with the white man of the mansion,/The white man will go to the rock, and he'll jump ... (His translation).

UNIT I

In each lesson you will read a dialogue in which various Capeverdeans interact in their day to day existence. You will begin to experience some of the cultural essences that characterize the Capeverdean life.

PROTAGONISTS

Artur - Artur is a Portuguese native from Alentejo who goes to the island of Brava in Cape Verde in search of a better life. He is set to exploit every opportunity available to him by deceiving the inhabitants of Brava who are, by and large, warm and eager to please outsiders, particularly Portuguese speaking people.

Djedje - Djedje is a native of Brava who had to learn through the school of hard knocks how to survive the harsh and often agonizing life in the island.

Quiosquero - He is a bartender. He barely makes a decent living to support his family. Because of his daily contact with the locals who frequent the quiosque, he is a major source of information about life in the island.

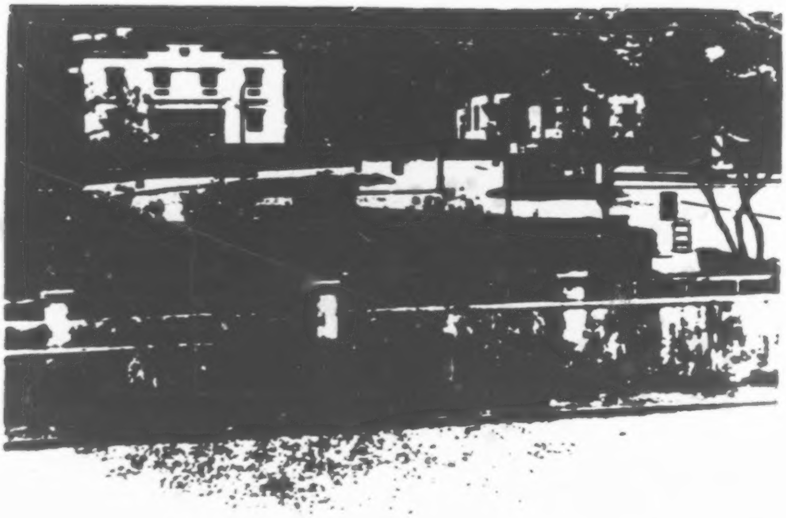
Toneca - Toneca, like most young man in the island, is unemployed. He spends most of his time around the quiosque hoping that someone will buy him a drink or something to drink.

Lelo - Lelo is an older man who makes his living by doing errands for other people. He also spends a great deal of time hanging around the quiosque.

PRIMERA PARTE

Dialogo Un

Sitting in the park Eugenio Tavares, across from the quiosque, Artur who has just arrived from Praia (the capital city of Cape Verde) greets his friend Djedje. They are both very hungry and they are looking for ways to get something to eat since they do not have any money.



Praça Eugenio Tavares

Artur - Ntan Djedje.

Djedje - Bon dia senhor Artur.

Artur - Cumá bo stâ huje?

Djedje - 'N stâ co barriga cheio de fome

Artur - 'Ntan bo ca comê huje?

Djedje - Co que?

Artur - Mi també 'n ca comê inda.

Djedje - 'Ntan no bâ djobê algun cusa de comê.

Artur - No bâ té quel quiosque.

VOCABULARY

Bon dia	-	Good morning
Cumá	-	How
Bo	-	You
Stâ	-	Are (to be)
Co	-	With
Barriga	-	Stomach
Cheio	-	Full
Fome	-	Hunger
Qui	-	What
'Ntan	-	Then
Comê	-	Eat (to eat)
Inda	-	Yet
Cusa	-	Thing
Djobê	-	Search (to search)
Algun	-	Some
No	-	We
Quel	-	That
Bâ	-	Go (to go)

Learning Activities

Greetings

A. Greet each person using one of these greetings:

Bon dia   Bo Tarde   Bo noti

Exemplo

	Maria
Bon dia Cumá bo stâ	'N stâ bon, obrigado
	Pedro
Bon dia Cumá bo stâ	'N stâ co fome

Maria
Pedro
Joana
Lelo
Toneca
Nho Djon
Nha Justa
Senhor Artur

B. Answer the questions with to be (sta)

Questions:	Answers:
Maria stâ co fome?	Nau, Maria ca stâ co fome. Pedro, stâ co fome.
Pedro stâ co fome?	Sin, Pedro stâ co fome.
Artur stâ co barriga cheio?	Nau, Artur ca stâ co barriga cheio, Artur stâ co fome.

Now ask the other students in class.

C. Answer the questions with to be (e)

Questions:	Answers:
Maria ê home?	Nau, Maria ê mudjer
Pedro ê portugues?	Nau, Pedro ê ca portugues, Pedro ê caboverdeano.
Artur ê portugues?	Sin Artur ê portugues.

Now ask the other students in class using the following nationalities.

Mexicano
Frances
Cubano
Russo
Chines
Angolano
Japones
Italiano

Grammatical notes : Conjugation of to be

STÂ	SER	
'N stâ	'N ê	I am
bo stâ	bo ê	You are
el stâ	el ê	He/She is
no stâ	no ê	We are
nhos stâ	nhos ê	You are
es stâ	es ê	They are

Mi Ê

Nome ____________________

Cumá ê bo nome?	Nha nome ê José.
De undé bo ê?	'N ê de Cabo Verde.
Cumá ê bo numero de telefone?	Nha numero de telefone ê 262-3572.

D. Answer these questions

1. Cumá ê bo nome? ____________
2. De undé bo ê? ____________
3. Cumá ê bo numero de telefono?
4. Artur ê Caboverdeano?
5. Djedje ê portugues?

E. Answer these questions.

Ask the other students in class the same questions.

F. Complete with the correct form of SER or STÂ

1. Artur ___ na praça de Eugenio Tavares.
2. Pedro ___ caboverdeano.
3. Manel de Maria ___ irmon.
4. Toneca ____ co fome.
5. Djedje ____ ca portugues.
6. Artur co Djedje ____ amigo.
7. Quiosquero ____ na quiosque.
8. Artur ____ de Portugal.
9. Artur co Djedje ____ co barriga cheio de fome.

10. Toneca ____ bon.

G. Translate into Capeverdean

1. Artur is very hungry.
2. Djedje has not eaten yet.
3. Toneca is at quiosque.
4. Artur is from Portugal.
5. Artur and Djedje are friends.

UNIT II

Dialogo II

The bartender is washing glasses. Artur and Djedje approach him looking for something to eat.

Artur - Cusé que bo tenê de comê n'es botequin?

Quiosquero - Só cusa sabe e grogo de nos terra.

Artur - 'N ca ta bebê grogo. 'N ta bebê só vinho de nha terra.

Quiosquero - 'Ntan bâ bo terra bebê.

Djedje - Sabê cumá senhor Artur ê home de ruspeto.

Quiosquero - Ruspeto 'n ten só pa dinhero.

Djedje - 'Ntan bo ruspetâ 'l. El ê cheio de dinhero.

Artur - Huje ê dia dimingo e banco stâ fitchado. Manhá segunda-fera tó qui banco abrî 'n ta mostrabo.

Djedje - Frâ'l ben frado.

VOCABULARY

tenê	- to have
botequin	- bar
sabe	- tasty
grogo	- moonshine
terra	- land (country)
nos	- our
bebê	- to drink
só	- only
vinho	- wine
bâ	- to go
home	- man
ruspeto	- respect
dinhero	- money
huje	- today
dia dimingo	- Sunday
segunda-fera	- Monday
terça-fera	- Tuesday
quarta-fera	- Wednesday
quinta-fera	- Thursday
sexta-fera	- Friday
sabdo	- Saturday

LEARNING ACTIVITIES

Dia de semana

Quiosquero	Artur
Que dia ê huje?	Huje ê dia dimingo
Que dia nhó ta bâ banco?	
dia dimingo?	Nau, dia dimingo 'n ca ta bâ banco.
segunda-fera?	Sin, 'n ta bâ banco segunda-fera.
terça-fera?	Nau, terça-fera 'n ca ta bâ banco.
quarta-fera?	Nau, quarta-fera 'n ca ta bâ banco.
quinta-fera?	Nau, quinta-fera 'n ca ta bâ banco.
sexta-fera?	Nau, sexta-fera 'n ca ta bâ banco.
sabdo?	Nau, sabdo 'n ca ta bâ banco.
Nhó ta bâ banco terça-fera?	Nau, 'n ca ta bâ banco terça-fera.
segunda-fera?	
quarta-fera?	
quinta-fera?	
sexta-fera?	
sabdo?	

Now ask other students in class the above questions.

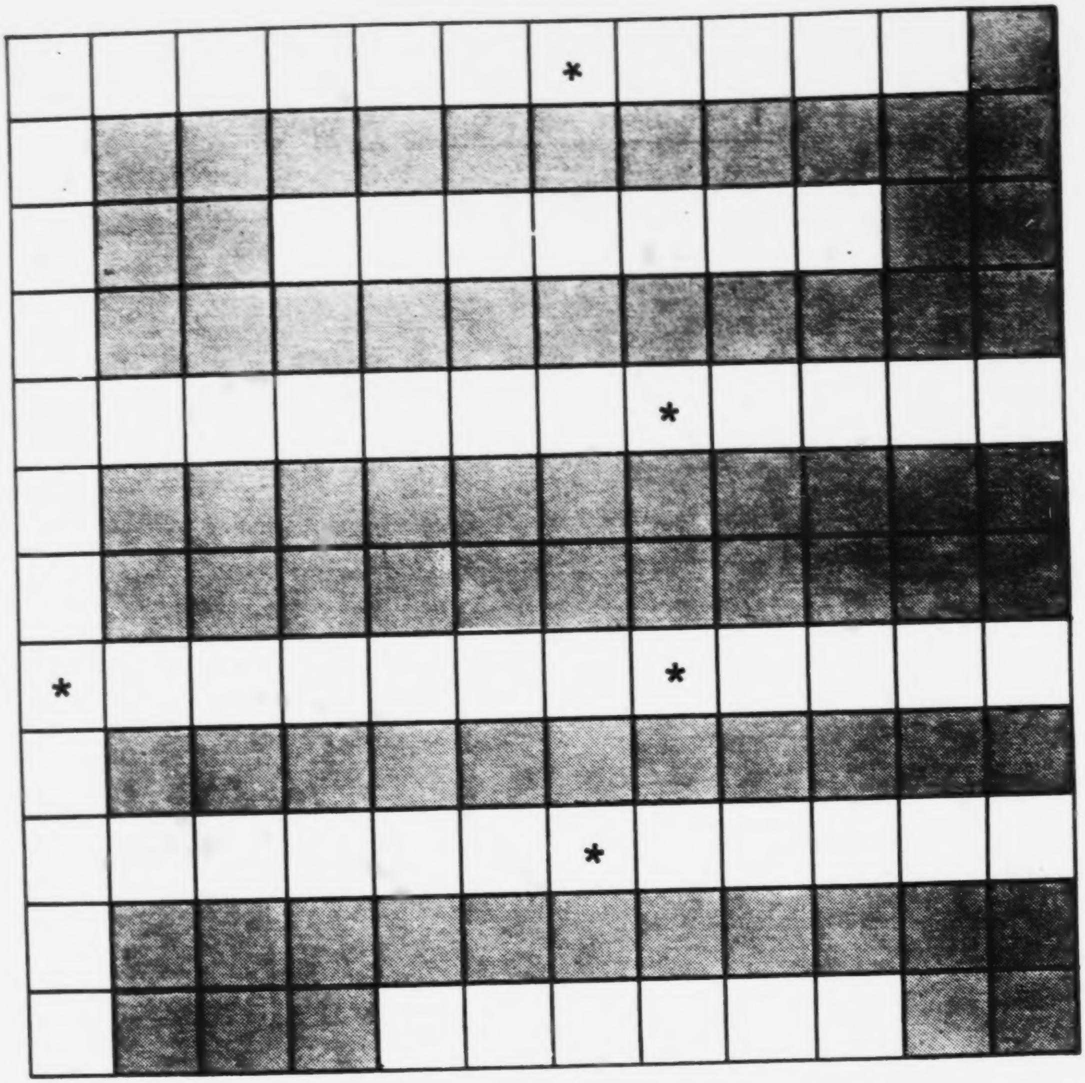
Quiosquero	Djedje
Huje ê segunda-fera?	Nau, huje ê dia dimingo. Manhá ê segunda-fera?
Huje ê terça-fera?	Nau, dispos de manhá ê terça-fera.
Huje ê quarta-fera?	Nau, huje ê ca quarta fera. Huje ê dia dimingo.
Huje ê quinta-fera?	Nau, huje ê ca ê quinta-fera. Huje ê terça-fera.
Huje ê sexta-fera?	Nau, huje ê ca ê sexta-fera.

Huje ê terça-fera.

Huje ê sabdo?

Nau, huje ê ca ê sabdo.
Huje ê dia dimingo.

Complete the crossword puzzle using the days of the week.



PRATICA

A. Ask your students what days of the week they go to school. One student can ask the question and another can give the answer.

Exemplo - dia dimingo

Bo ta bâ scola dia dimingo?
Nau, 'n ta bâ scola segunda-fera.

1. segunda-fera
2. terça-fera
3. quarta-fera
4. quinta-fera
5. sexta-fera
6. sabdo
7. dia dimingo

B. What day would it be if ... ? Answer the questions as in the example below.

Exemplo : Si huje ê sabdo, que dia ê manhá?

1. Si huje ê segunda-fera, que dia ê manhá?
2. Si huje ê quinta-fera, que dia ê passado manhá?
3. Si huje ê quarta-fera, que dia ê passado manhá?
4. Si huje ê sexta-fera, que dia ê manha?
5. Si huje ê dia dimingo, que dia era onte?
6. Si huje ê terça-fera, que dia era onte?
7. Si huje ê sexta-fera, que dia era onte?
8. Si huje ê sabdo, que dia ê passado manhá?
9. Si huje ê segunda, que dia ê manhá?
10. Si huje ê quarta-fera, que dia era onte?

MES DE ANO

Quiosquero	Artur
Que mes nho ta bâ Furna?	'N ta bâ Furna na mes de maio.

janero
febrero
março
abril
maio
junho
julho
agosto
setembro
otubro
novembro
dizembro

Que tempo que nhó ta bâ pa Portugal?	'N ta bâ pa Portugal na inverno.
Nhó ta bâ pa Portugal na primavera?	Nau, 'n ca ta bâ pa Portugal na primavera, 'N ta bâ pa Portugal na inverno.

Repeat the questions using different seasons.

primavera
veran
outono
inverno

Porto de Furna

PRATICA

C.

Question	Answer
1. Arvre ta caî fodja na veran?	Nau, arvre ca ta caî fodja na veran. Arvre ta caî fodja na outono.
2. Arvre ta caî fodja na outono?	Sin, arvre ta caî fodja na outono.
3. No ta bâ praia de banho na primavera?	Nau, no ca ta bâ praia de banho na primavera. No ta bâ praia de banho na veran.
4. Arvre ta nece fodja na outono?	Nau, arvre ca ta nece fodja na outono. Arvre ta necê fodja na primavera.
5. Ta fazê calor na inverno?	Nau, ca ta fazê calor na inverno. Na inverno ta fazê friu.

D. Ask students to mark their birthday on the following calendars.

E. Give answers

1. Que dia bo ta fazê ano? 'N ta fazê ano dia 15 de dezembro.
2. Que dia ê huje? ________________________.
3. Que dia de mes ê huje? ________________________.
4. Que dia de semana ê huje? ________________________.
5. Que dia de mes era onte? ________________________.
6. Que dia de semana ê passado manhá? ________________________.
7. Que dia ê dispos de manhá? ________________________.
8. Na que ano bo necê? ________________________.
9. Na que stassan de ano bo necê? ________________________.
10. Canto dia ten un mes? ________________________.

F. Ask students to give their birthday.

Exemplo: Dâ'n bo data de nacimento | 'N nece dia 5 de outubro de 1959.

HORA

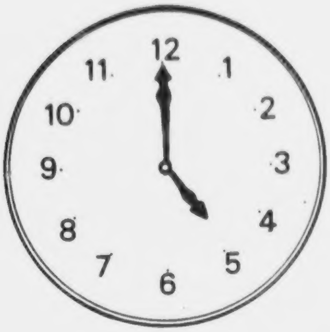
Quiosquero	Djedje
Que hora nhos pode ben manhá?	Sin, no ta ben manhá pa dos hora.
un hora?	______________________________.
dos hora?	______________________________.
tres hora?	______________________________.
quatro hora?	______________________________.
cinco hora?	______________________________.
seis hora?	______________________________.
sete hora?	______________________________.
nove hora?	______________________________.
dez hora?	______________________________.
onze hora?	______________________________.
doze hora?	______________________________.

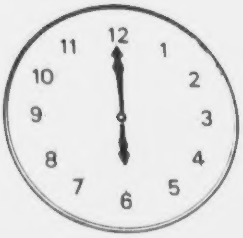
Quiosquero	Artur
Dja ten tres hora?	Sin, dja ten tres hora.
un hora?	____________________.
dos hora?	____________________.
tres hora?	____________________.
cuatro hora?	____________________.
cinco hora?	____________________.
seis hora?	____________________.
sete hora?	____________________.
nove hora?	____________________.
dez hora?	____________________.
onze hora?	____________________.
doze hora?	____________________.

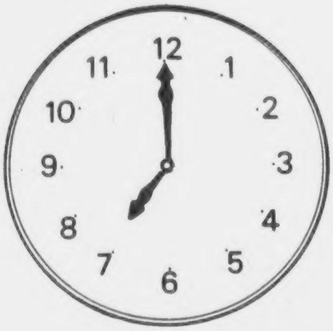
Djedje	Quiosquero
Que hora bo ta abrî es botequin?	'N ta abrî pa meio-dia.
Que hora bo ta fitchâ es botequin?	'N ta fitchâ pa meia-note.

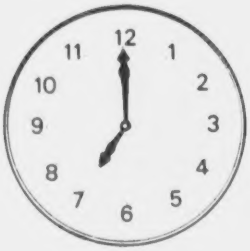
PRATICA

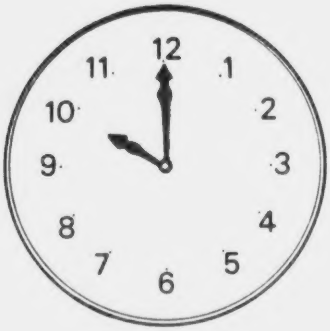
A. Give the time shown in the following clocks

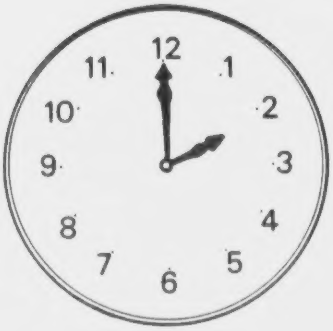


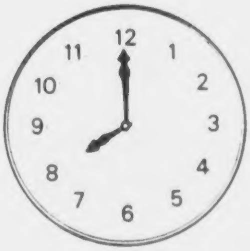


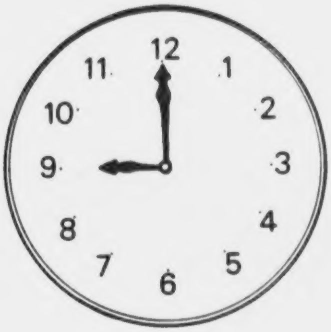


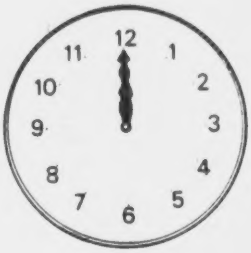


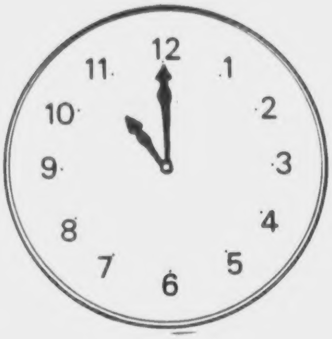












B. This is Artur and Djedje's schedule of appointments.

Horario
25 de janero

7:00 - lebantâ de cama
7:15 - labâ rosto
7:30 - bâ ca nha Justa djobê café
8:00 - bâ té praça
9:00 - bâ correo
10:00 - tornâ ba praça
11:00 - bâ té Cruz-Grande
12:00 - bâ té quiosque
12:15 - almoço na quiosque
2:00 - bâ Pé-de-Rotcha
3:00 - hora de laonche
4:00 - bâ té cambra
5:00 - contâ passaje
6:00 - djobê manera de djantâ
7:00 - bâ praça passeâ
9:00 - bâ fazê serenata
10:30 - hora de detâ

Ask students to write down their daily schedule.

UNIT 3

Toneca and Lelo who are cousins, are also at the quiosque hoping that someone will buy them lunch. Otherwise, they will go to their aunt's house to get something to eat.

Toneca - Bo tenê algun dinhero?

Lelo - Nau, 'n ca tenê nem un tiston.

Toneca - Cumá que no al almoçâ?

Lelo - No ta pidî fiado.

Toneca - Quiosquero ca ta fiano mas.

Lelo - Pamó? Nos ê ca dgente dreto?

Toneca - Dreto no ê ma debê cumá candia pagâ.

Lelo - Odjâ, quel homi branco al comprano algun cusa.

Toneca - Sinan, no ta bâ ca ti Justa. La almoço ca ta faltâ.

VOCABULARY

dinhero - money
tiston - cent
almoço - to have lunch
pidî fiado - to buy on credit - to change
pamó - why
dreto - right
dgente dreto - good people meaning from good family background
candia - oil lamp
candia pagâ - idiomatic expression meaning excessively
homi - man
branco - white
comprâ - to buy
sinan - otherwise
tia - aunt
faltâ - to miss, to be absent

LEARNING ACTIVITIES

A.

Question	Answer
Bo tenê dinhero?	Nau, 'n ca tenê dinhero.
Bo tenê fome?	Sin, 'n tenê fome.
Toneca tenê fome?	Sin, Toneca tenê fome

Quiosquero tenê fome?	Nau, quiosquero ca tenê fome.
Lelo ê dgente dreto?	Sin, Lelo ê dgente dreto.
Bo ê dgente dreto?	Sin, 'n ê dgente dreto.
Bo ta fiâ candia pagâ?	Nau, 'n ca ta fiâ candia pagâ?

Ask the students in class the same questions.

B. Complete the sentence with the appropriate form of tenê, fiâ, pidî, comprâ or pagâ as determined by the sentence.

1. Toneca __________ fome.
2. Toneca co Lelo ca ta ___________ ses conta.
3. Bo crê ____________ almoço?
4. No bâ _________ fiado algun cusa.
5. Si no ca __________ dinhero, no ta _________almoço.
6. Lelo ta __________ candia pagâ.
7. Dinhero ta sirbî pa ___________ dibida.
8. Bo ____tcheu dinhero.
9. Toneca ca _____nen un tiston.
10. Es crê __________ fiado ses almoço.

C. Answer the questions

Modelo

Question	Answer
Cumá no al almoçâ?	No al almoçâ co dinhero.
Cumá bo al bâ scola?	No al bâ scola na carro.
No al bâ ca nos tia?	Sin, no al bâ ca nos tia.
No al bâ ca nos tio?	Nau, no ca'l bâ ca nos tio. No al bâ ca nos tia.
Toneca co Lelo al compra almoço?	Nau, Toneca co Lelo ca'l compra almoço.

Ask students in class questions with the future marker "al" as shown in the model above.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Verb Conjugation

Tenê	To have
'n tenê	I have
bo tenê	You have
el tenê	He/She has
no tenê	We have
nhos tenê	You have
es tenê	They have

Pidî	To ask
'n pidî	I ask
bo pidî	You ask
el pidî	He/She asks
no pidî	We ask
nhos pidî	You ask
es pidî	They ask

Pagâ	To pay
'n pagâ	I pay
bo pagâ	You pay
el pagâ	He/She pays
no pagâ	We pay
nhos pagâ	You pay
es pagâ	They

fiâ	To charge
'n fiâ	I charge
bo fiâ	You charge
el fiâ	He/She charges
no fiâ	We charge
nhos fiâ	You charge
es fiâ	They charge

Comprâ	To buy
'n comprâ	I buy
bo comprâ	You buy
el comprâ	He/She buys
no comprâ	We buy
nhos comprâ	You buy
es comprâ	They buy

D. Translate into English

1. Toneca al atchâ algun cusa de comê.
2. Toneca co Lelo ê primo.
3. Si es ca fiâ es ta bâ almoça na casa de ses tia.
4. Lelo ta fiâ candia pagâ.
5. Toneca co Lelo ê dgente dreto.
6. Es ca ta pagâ ses dibida.
7. Por isso, quiosquero ca crê fiase.
8. Algun dgente al pagase almoço.
9. Na casa de ses tia almoço ca ta faltâ.
10. Toneca co Lelo ca ten dinhero.

PRATICA

Numbro te cen

Person 1 Person 2

E. Count from twenty

20 vinte

21 vinteun

22 vintidos

23 vintitres

24 vintiquatro

25 vinticinco

26 vintiseis

27 vintisete

28 vintioito

29 vintinove

30 trinta

31 trintiun

32 trintidos

33 trintitres

34 trintiquatro

35 trinticinco

36 trintiseis

37 trintisete

38 trintioito

39 trintinove

40 corenta

41 corentiun

42 corentidos

43	corentitres
44	corentiquatro
45	corenticinco
46	corentiseis
47	corentisete
48	corentioito
49	corentinove
50	cinquenta
51	cinquentiun
52	cinquentidos
53	cinquentitres
54	cinquentiquatro
55	cinquenticinco
56	cinquentiseis
57	cinquentisete
58	cinquentioito
59	cinquentinove
60	sessenta
61	sessentiun
62	sessentidos
63	sessentitres
64	sessentiquatro
65	sessenticinco
66	sessentiseis
67	sessentisete
68	sessentioite
69	sessentinove

70 setenta

71 setentiun

72 setentidos

73 setentitres

74 setentiquatro

75 setenticinco

76 setentiseis

77 setentisete

78 setentioito

79 setentinove

80 oitenta

81 oitentidos

82 oitentidos

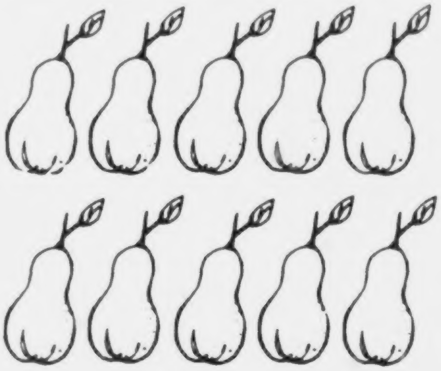
83 oitentitres

84 oitentiquatro

85 oitenticindo

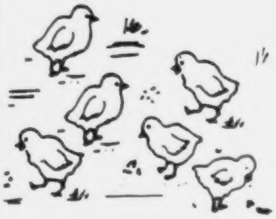
86 oitentiseis

H. Count the following items according to the model below:



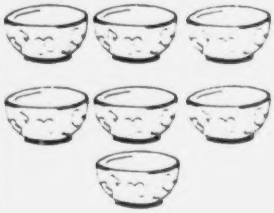
Pera

Ê dez pera



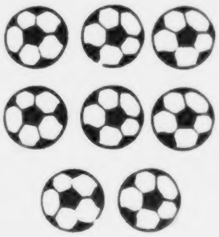
Pinto

____



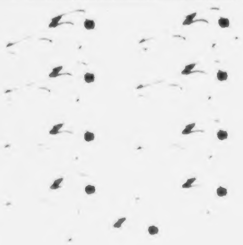
Tigela

____



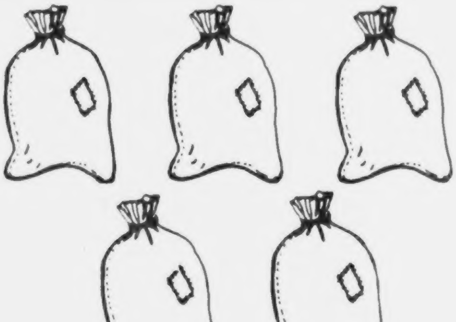
Bola

____



Pito

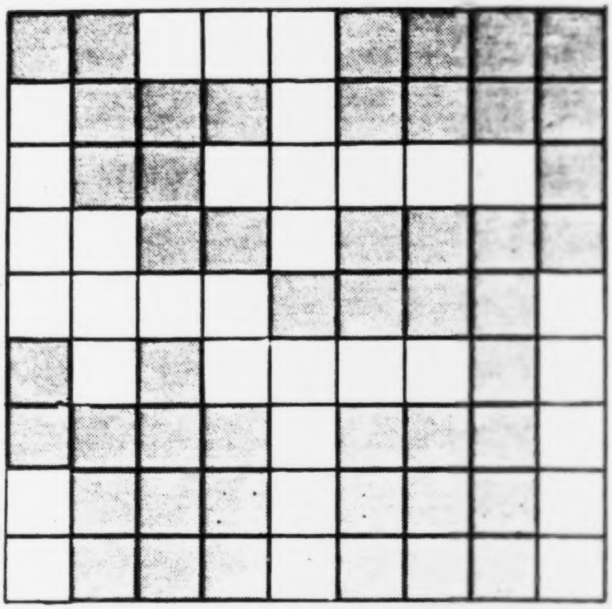
____



Saco

____

I. Fill in the blank with the appropriate number.



1. un
2. dos
3. tres
4. quatro
5. cinco
6. seis
7. sete
8. oito
9. nove
10. dez

J. Put the following numbers in the right order.

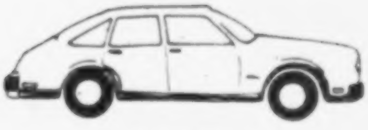
---

dos quato tres un dez

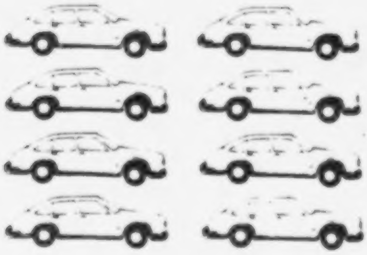
oito sete seis cinco nove

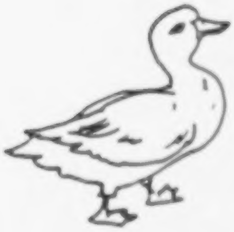
K. Form plurals using tcheu, tudo or un data.

Tcheu, Tudo, Un data

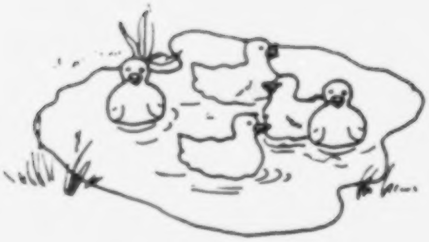


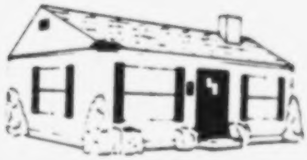
Un carro



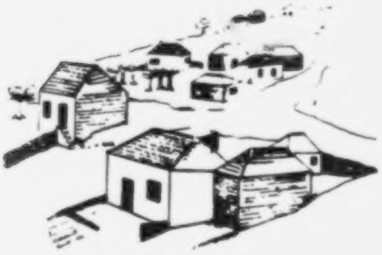


Un pata





Un casa



UNIT 4

Lelo and Toneca go to Nha Justa's house na Cruz Grande. They find Nha Justa and her family having lunch. Since Lelo and Toneca were not able to buy lunch at the quiosque, they hope to be invited to join Nha Justa and her family.

Lelo - El ca crê fiano.

Toneca - Ca bo 'nportâ. No bâ ca Ti Justa, no ta almoçâ certo.

Lelo - Co es fome 'n ca sabê se 'n ta podê anda té Cruz Grande.

Toneca - Cruz Grande ê mas perto que Pé de Rotcha.

Lelo - Pé de Rotcha ê cumá quiosque. Sen dinhero ca ten almoço.

Toneca - 'Ntan no bâ undé que un bocado ê certo.

VOCABULARY

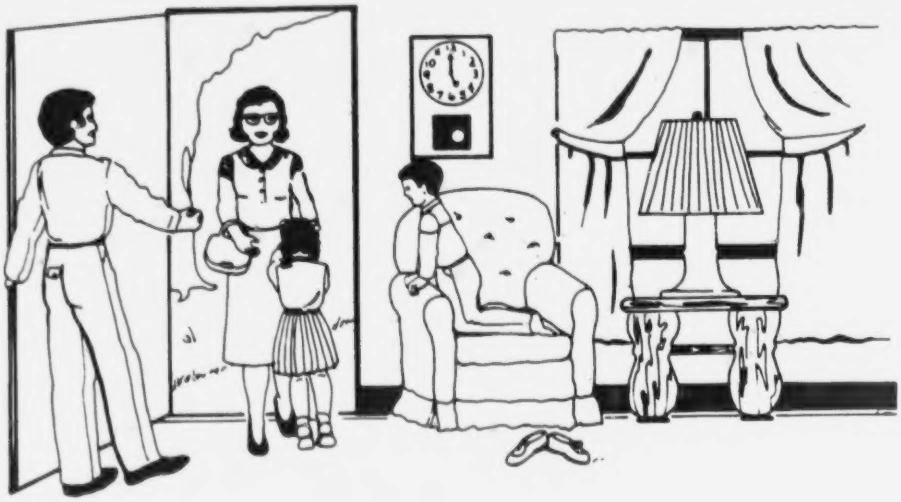
'Nportâ	-	To mind
Certo	-	Certain
Sabê	-	To know
Mas	-	More
Perto	-	Near
Cumá	-	Just like
Undé	-	Where
Bocado	-	A portion of food

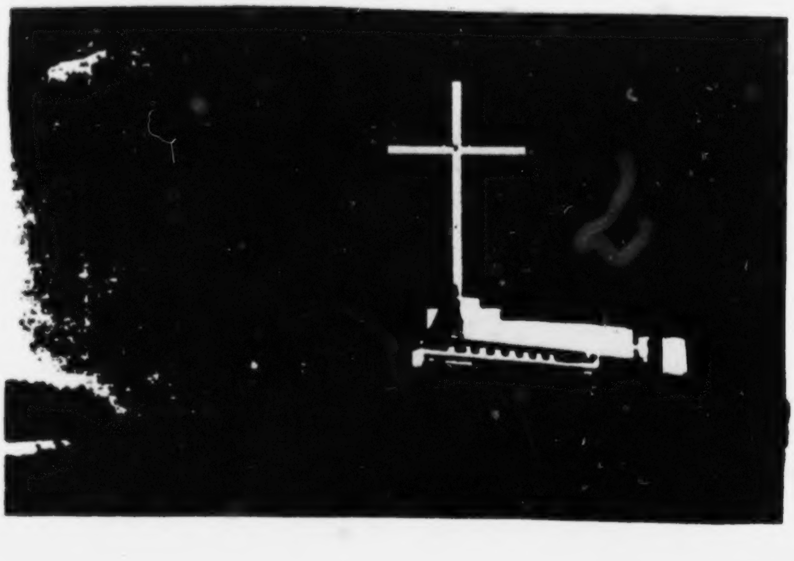
QUESTIONS

1. Pamó que Toneca co Lelo crê bâ ca Nha Justa?
2. Pamó que Lelo ca crê bâ té Cruz Grande?
3. Cruz Grande ê mas londge que Pé de Rotcha?
4. Cumá que Pé de Rotcha ê?
5. Cusé que Toneca co Lelo ta atchâ certo ca Nha Justa?

LEARNING ACTIVITIES

CASA DE TI JUSTA





Cruz Grande

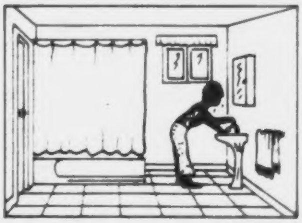
A. Read and practice.

1. Nha Justa stâ abrî Toneca co Lelo porta.
2. Sé fidjos stâ na sala.
3. Sé fidjo Toi stâ riba de sofa.
4. Sé fidja Maria stâ djunto co el.
5. Relojo stâ prindado na parede.

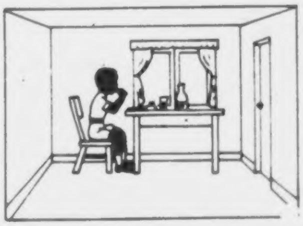
Ask students to describe their own house.

B. Answer these questions.

1.

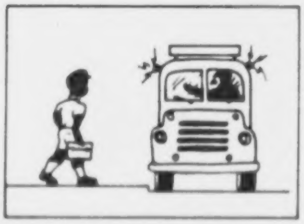


Undé que Toi stâ?

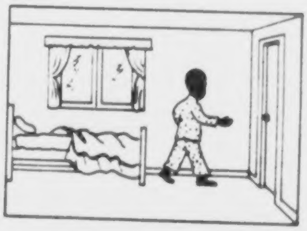


Undé que José stâ?

2.

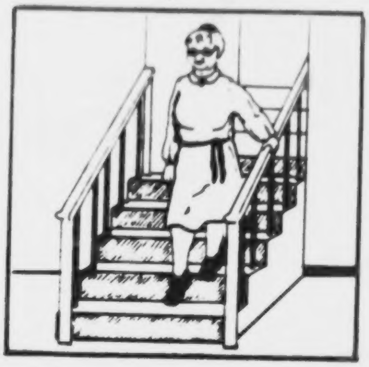


Undé que Pepe stâ?

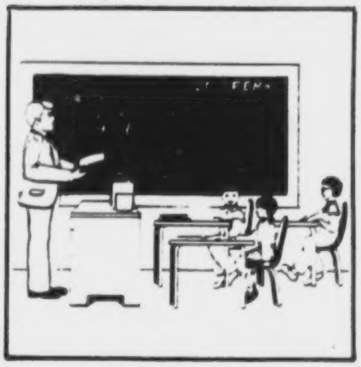


Undé que Manel stâ?

3.

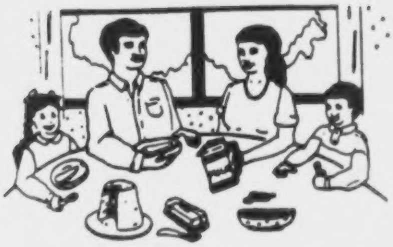


Undé que Nha Justa stâ?

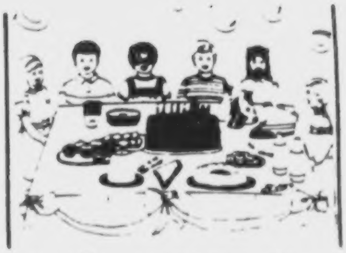


Undé que professor stâ?

4.

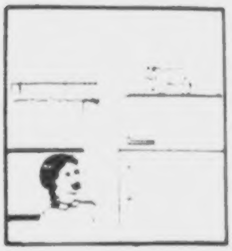


Undé que familia de Nha Justa stâ?

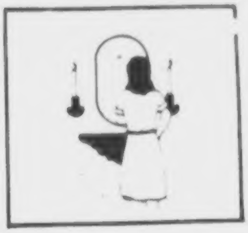


Undé que amigos de Toi stâ?

5.

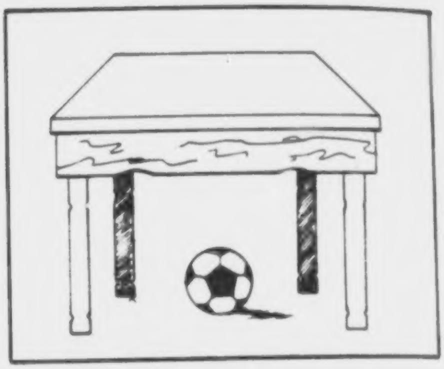


Undé que Maria stâ?

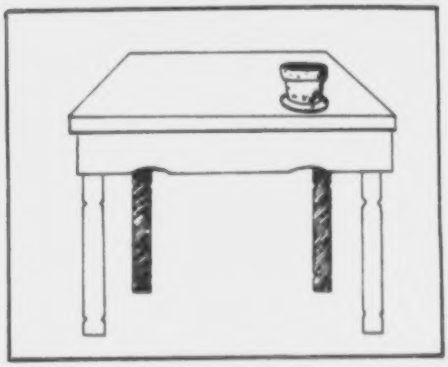


Undé que Joana stâ?

6.

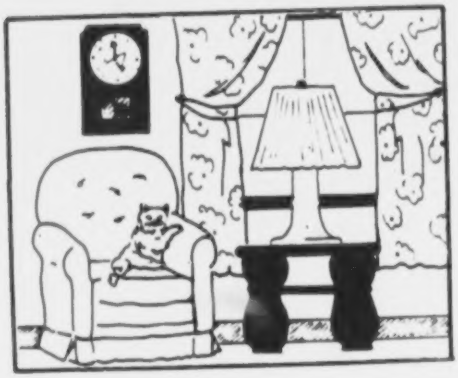


Undé que bola stâ?

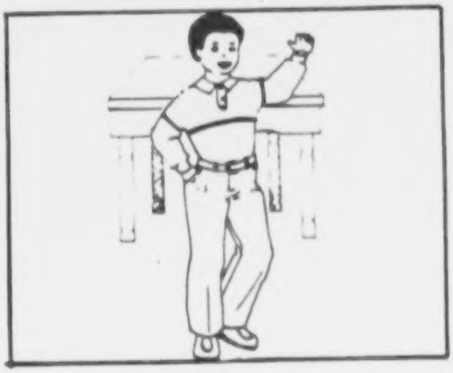


Undé que vaso stâ?

7.



Undé que gato stâ?



Undé que Toi stâ?

C. Perguntá studantes undé que es stâ.

D. Ask the students to describe their own houses.

PRACTICE

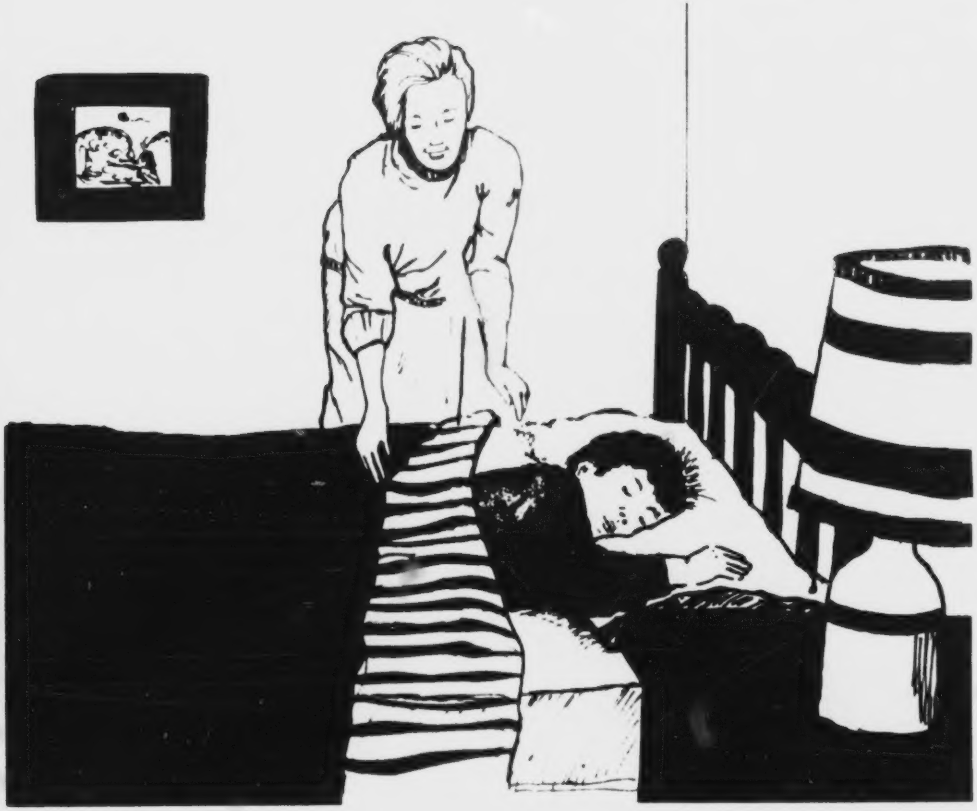
'N staba	no staba
bo staba	nhos staba
el staba	es staba

Vila Nova Sintra

E. Answer these questions according to the model below.

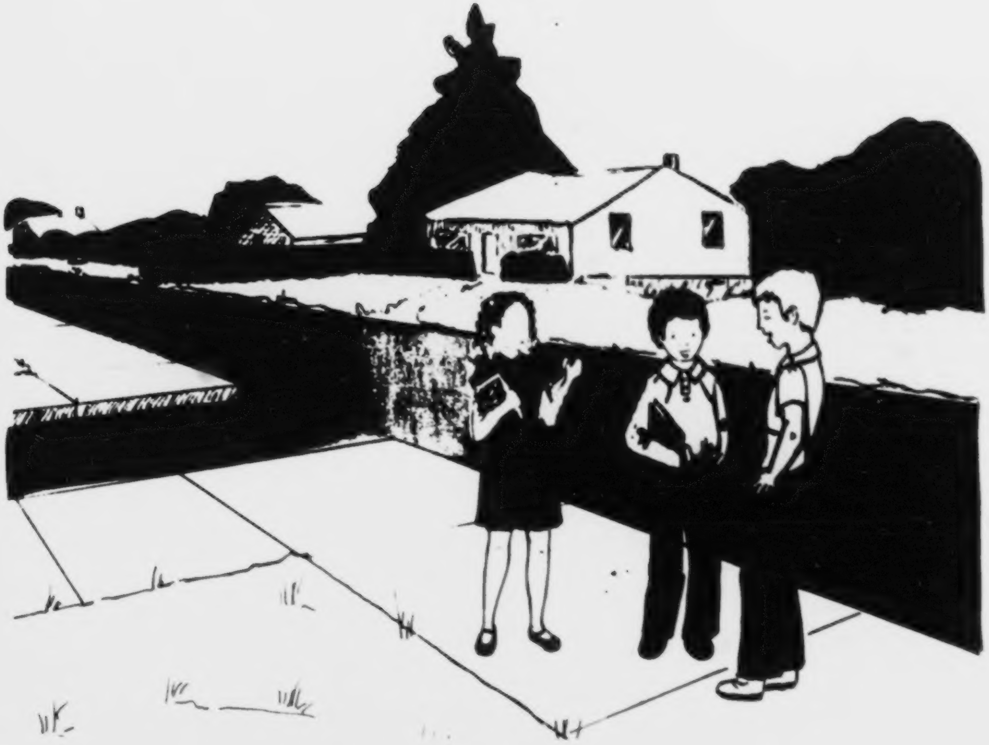
Question	Answer
1. Toi staba diante de mesa?	Nau, Toi ca staba diante de mesa. Toi staba detraz de mesa.
2. Bola staba riba de mesa?	
3. Gato staba baxo de sofa?	
4. Relojo staba riba de mesa?	
5. Maria staba na quarto de banho?	
6. Nha Justa staba na cazinha?	
7. Maria staba ta abri Lelo co Toneca porta?	
8. Lelo staba ta laba cara?	
9. Toneca staba ta dexe scada?	
10. Lelo co Toneca staba na mesa ta almoca?	

6.0 CAPEVERDEAN READER



PRIMERO DIA DE SCOLA

É primero dia de scola. Beto stâ inda detado.
Sé mai bâ na el:
Mai - Beto! Beto! - scordâ. É hora de lebantâ.
Beto - Oh mai, inda é cedo!...
Mai - Lebantâ, bo ten que bâ scola. Tina dja stâ pronto.
É só bó que el stâ sperâ.



Beto lebantâ e el besti ta corrê.
El co Tina tomâ café e es sai de casa.
Toni staba ta sperâ's la pa fora.

Toni - Cusé que contecê?
Beto - 'N staba ta dormi tan sabe!...
Tina - Se nha mai ca scordaba el, inda no staba ta sperâ'l.

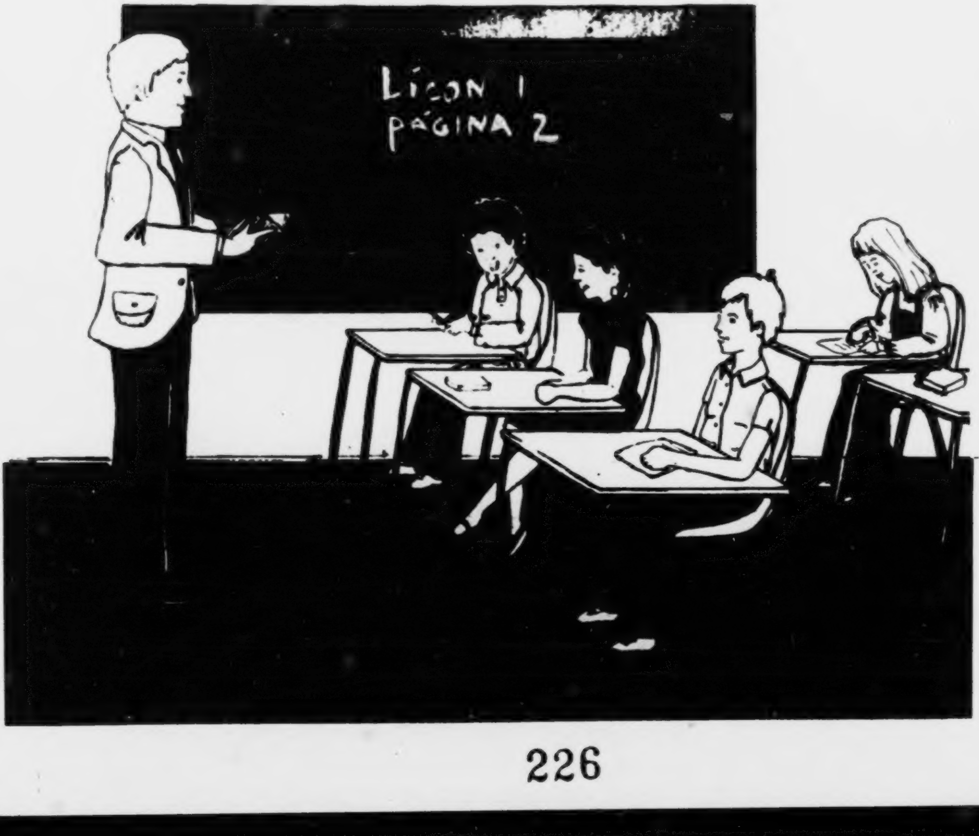
E sigó ta papiâ es tres amigo bâ ta andâ pa scola.

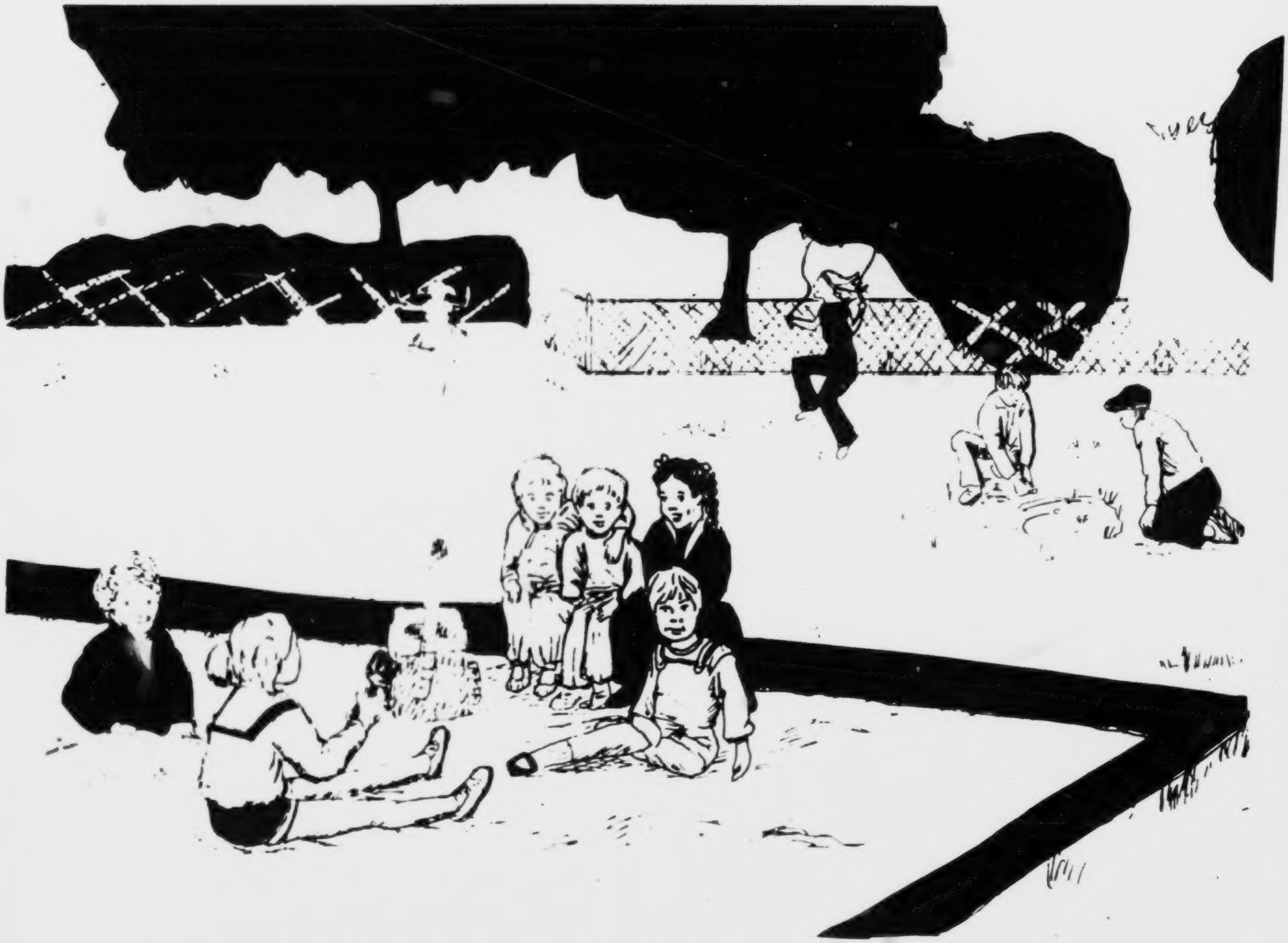
Na aula tudo aluno frâ cusé que es fazê na féria.

Beto lebantâ e el frâ: - mi co Tina no bâ praia de mar. No tomâ banho e no passâ sabe.

Rosa frâ: - mi co nha irmon José no passâ un mês co nós avós na campo.

Un dia de tarde es lebâno bâ passeâ. Na caminho no ubí grilo ta cantâ: gri-gri- gri...

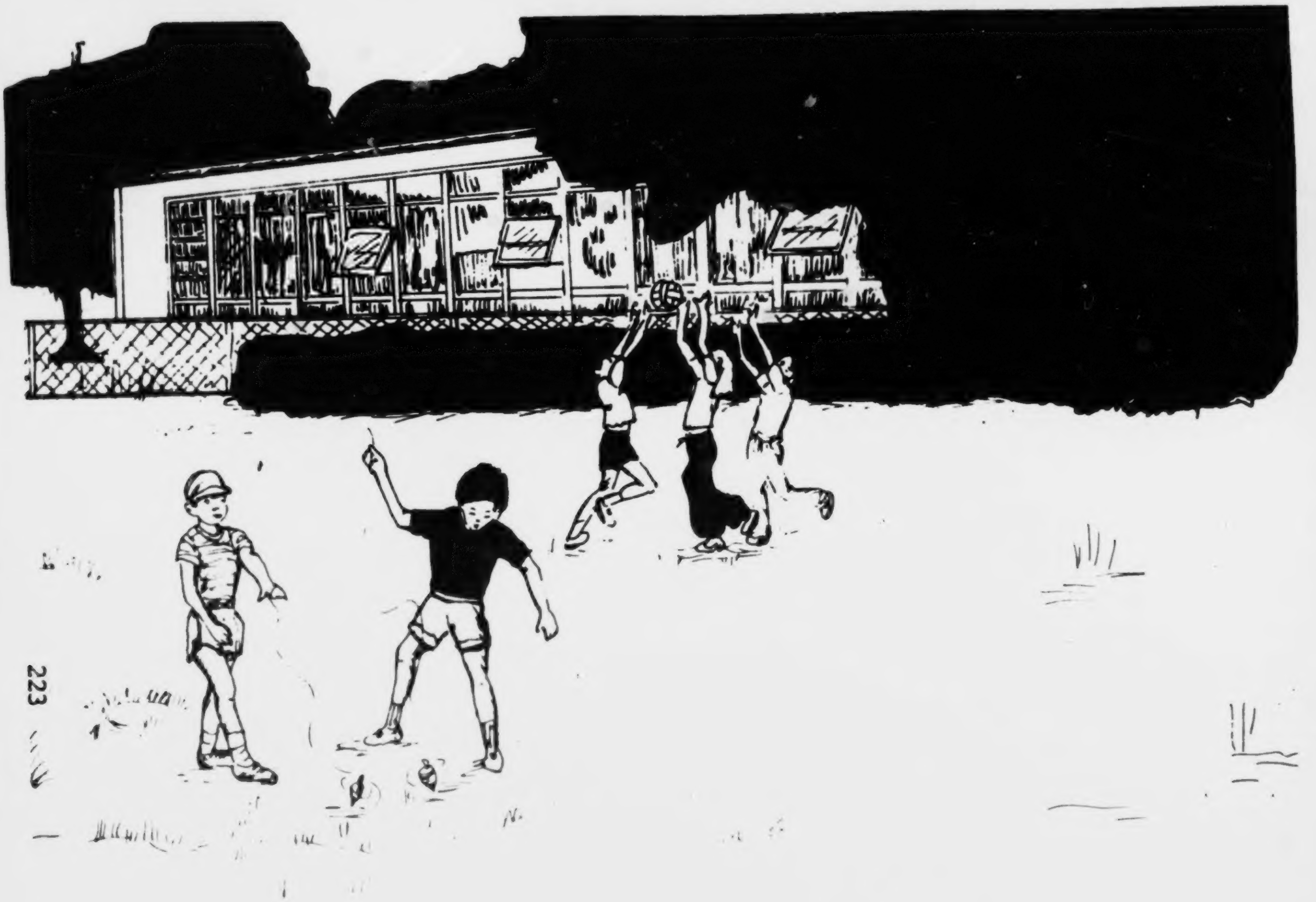




Na recreio es tudo staba contente ta brincâ.

Beto co Tina staba ta djogâ pion.

Isabel co Rosa staba ta saltâ corda.



Un grupo de's staba ta djogâ bola.
Otos staba sentado ta contâ companhero cusé que es fazê na féria.
Beto, Toni e Tina gostâ des primero đia de scola.

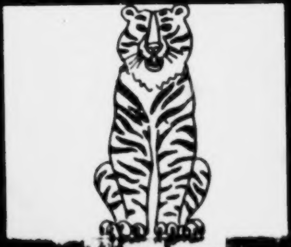
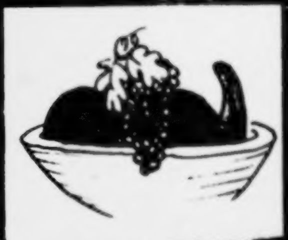
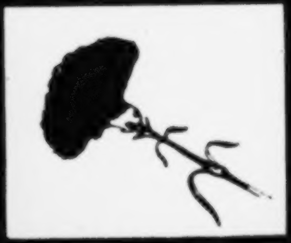
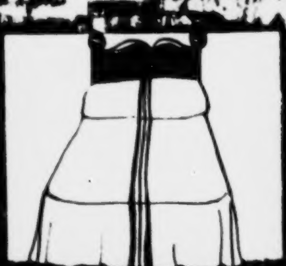
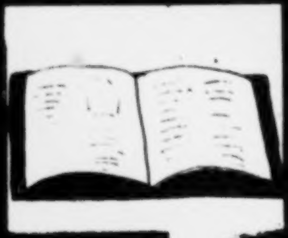
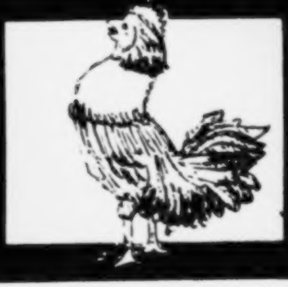
Pensâ:

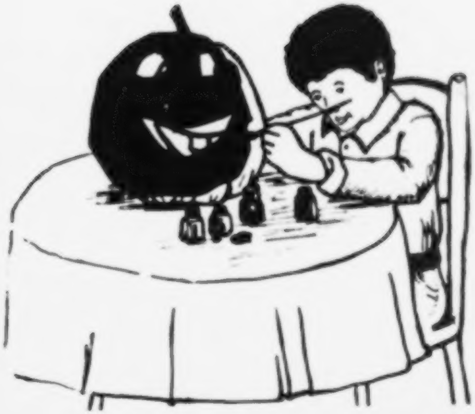
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

1. Mai de Beto bâ scordâ'l - Cusé que Beto frâ sé mai?
2. Toni staba ta sperâ Beto co Tina. - Toni staba contente?
3. Rosa bâ passeâ co sé avó . - Cusé que Rosa ubí na caminho?
4. Cusé que meniso staba ta fazê na recreio?
5. Cusé que bo fazê na féria?

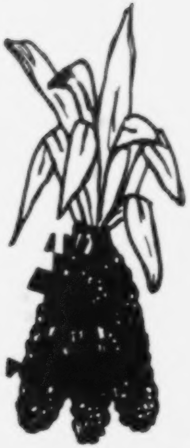
Scodjê:

Cal é de's desenho que ten son */br/, /cr/, /fr/, /gr/.*

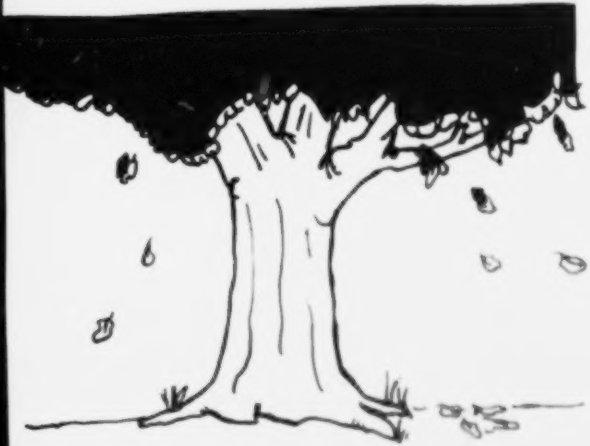









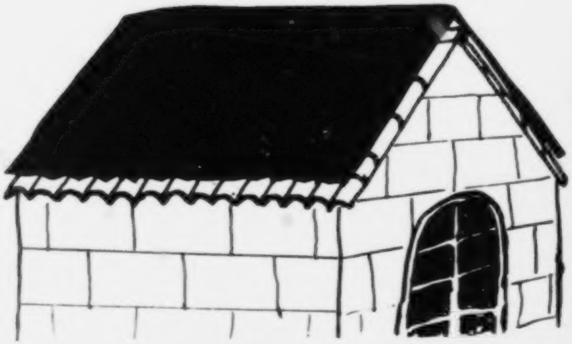
Beto pô dos **odjo** na bobra.



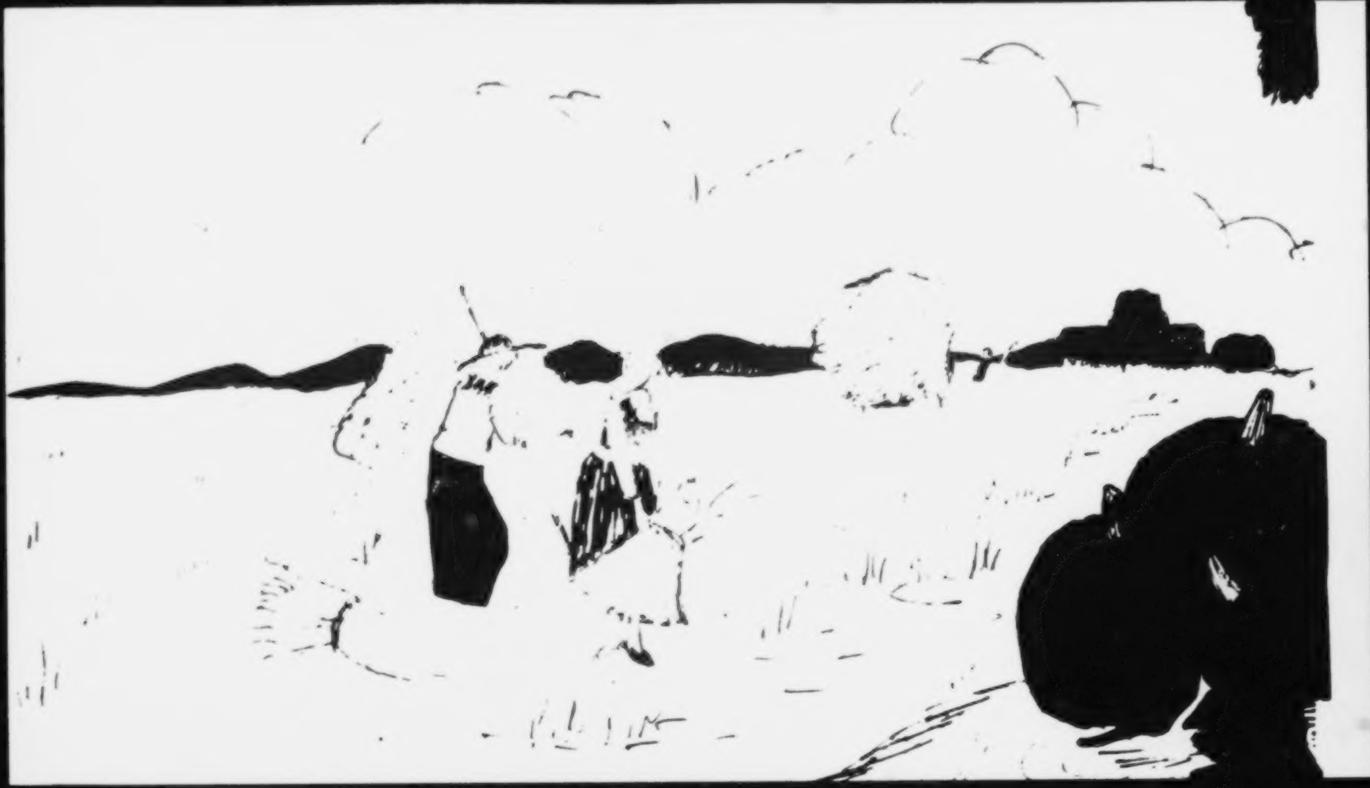
É tres spiga de midjo.



Fodja stâ caí de arvre.

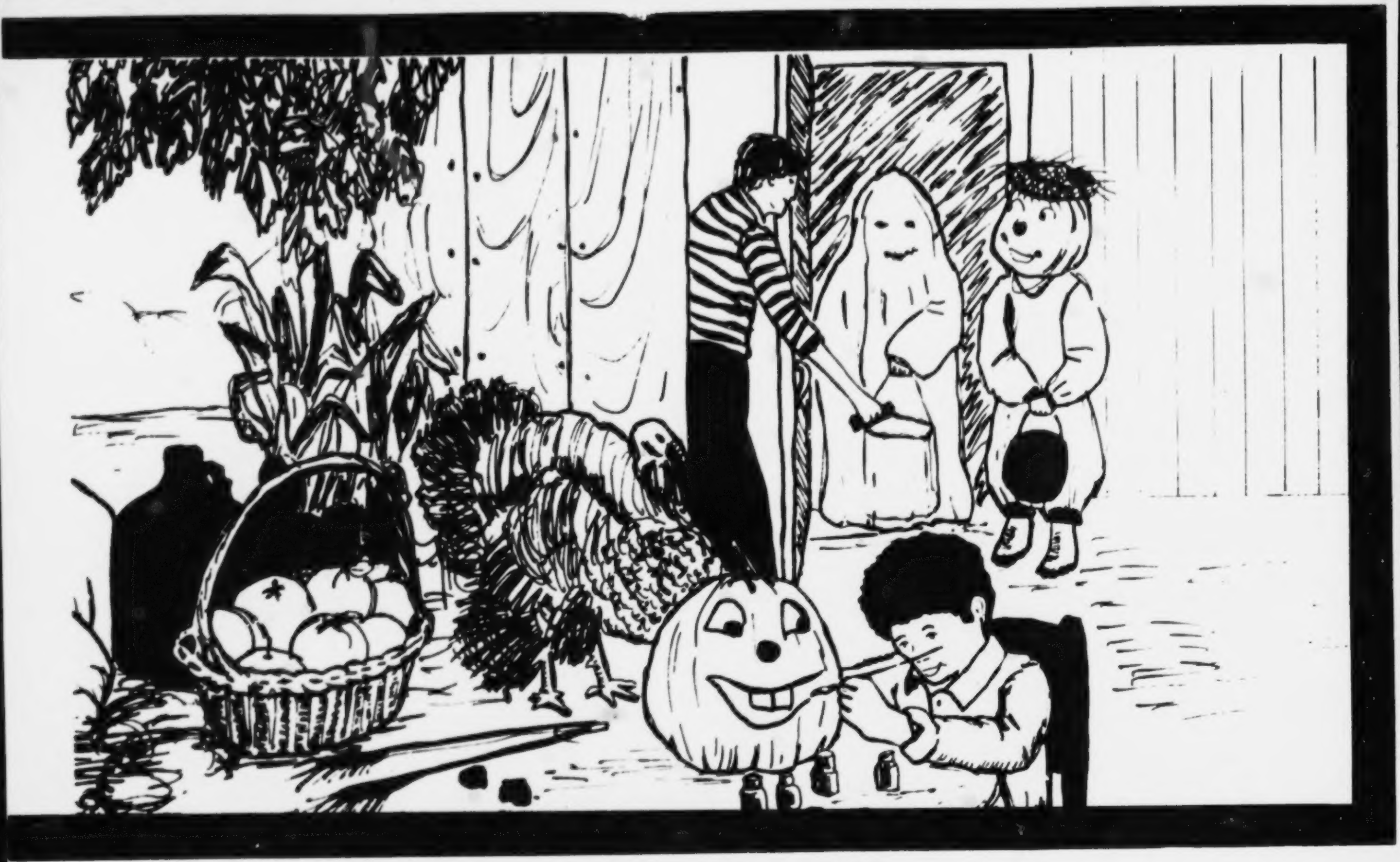


Es casa é coberto de **tedja**.



OUTONO

É Outono.
Fodja de arvre stâ mudâ de cor.
Uns fodja stâ birâ marelo.
Otos stâ birâ bermedjo amá castanho.
Pa tudo banda fruta dja stâ maduro.
Midjo co bobra dja stâ de panhâ.



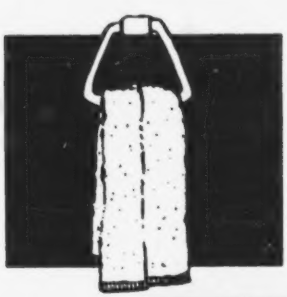
É Outono.
É tempo de mascra na Merca.
Beto stâ fazê c'un bobra un cara de mascra.
Primero el pô'l dos odjo c'un nariz.
Depós el fazê'l un boca e el pô'l cinco dente.
De note Beto co Tina co Toni bestí de mascra.

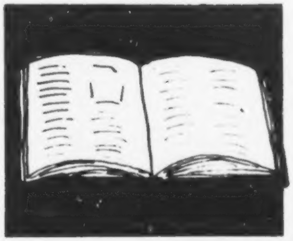
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

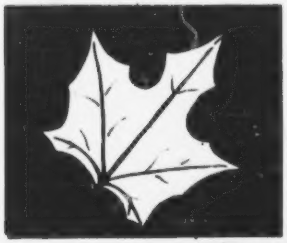
1. Na Outono fodja de arvre ta **(rebentâ, secâ, birâ berde)**
2. Na Outono é tempo de **(Natal, féria, mascra)**
3. Outono é tempo de **(semeâ, mondâ, panhâ comida)**
4. Na Outono ta **(fazê frio. fazê calor, caí neve).**

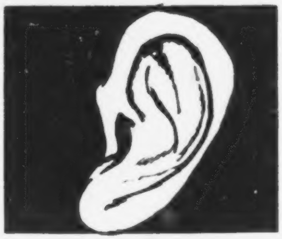
Scodjê:

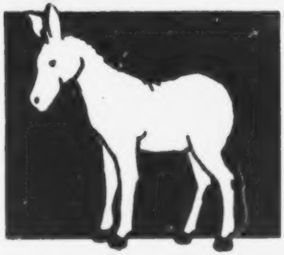
Cal de's desenho que ten son /z/.

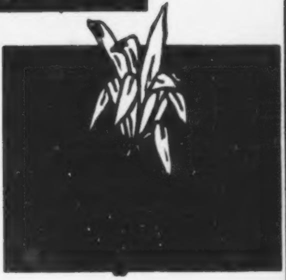




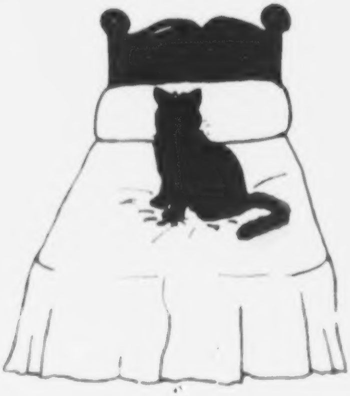




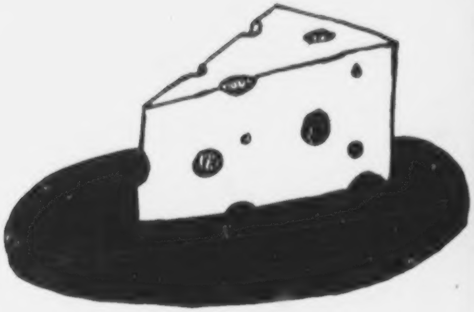




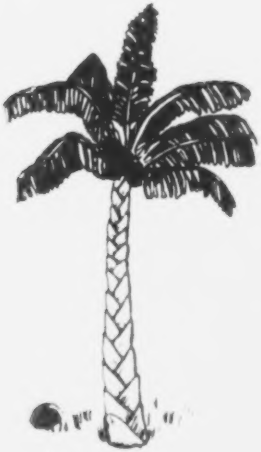
ca, que, qui, co, cu, qu;
ka, ke, ki, ko, ku.



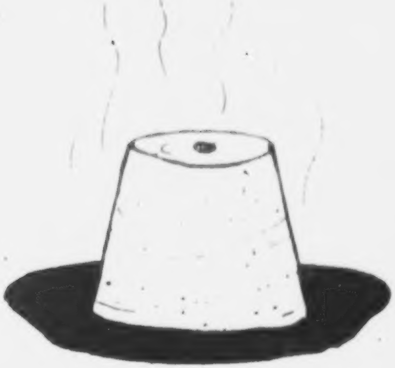
Gato stâ detado na cama.



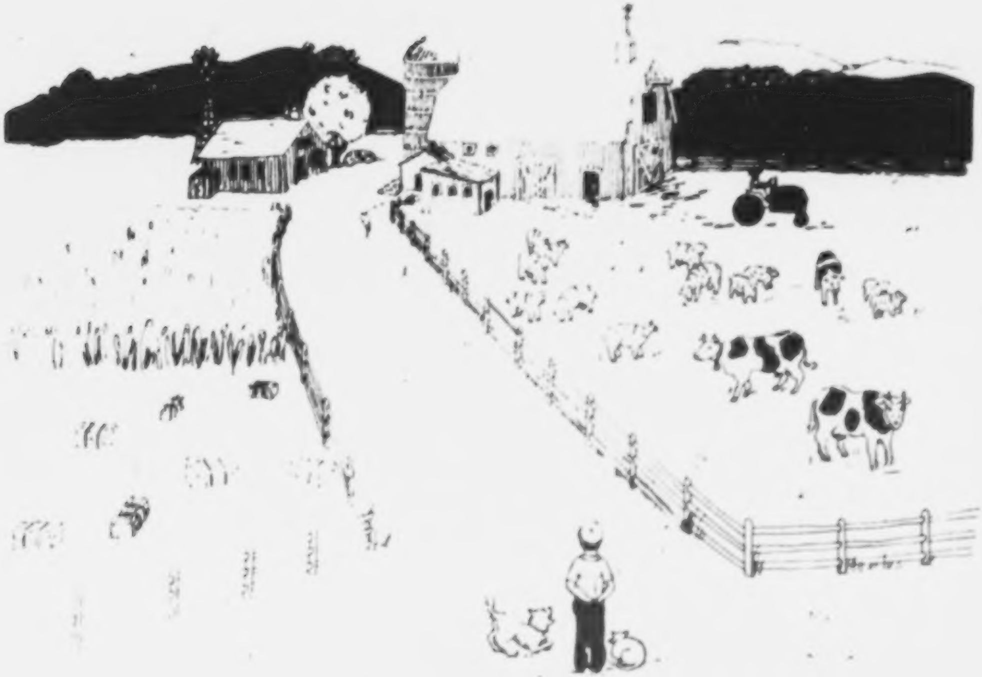
Es **quejo** é de baca.



Coco stâ na **coquero**.



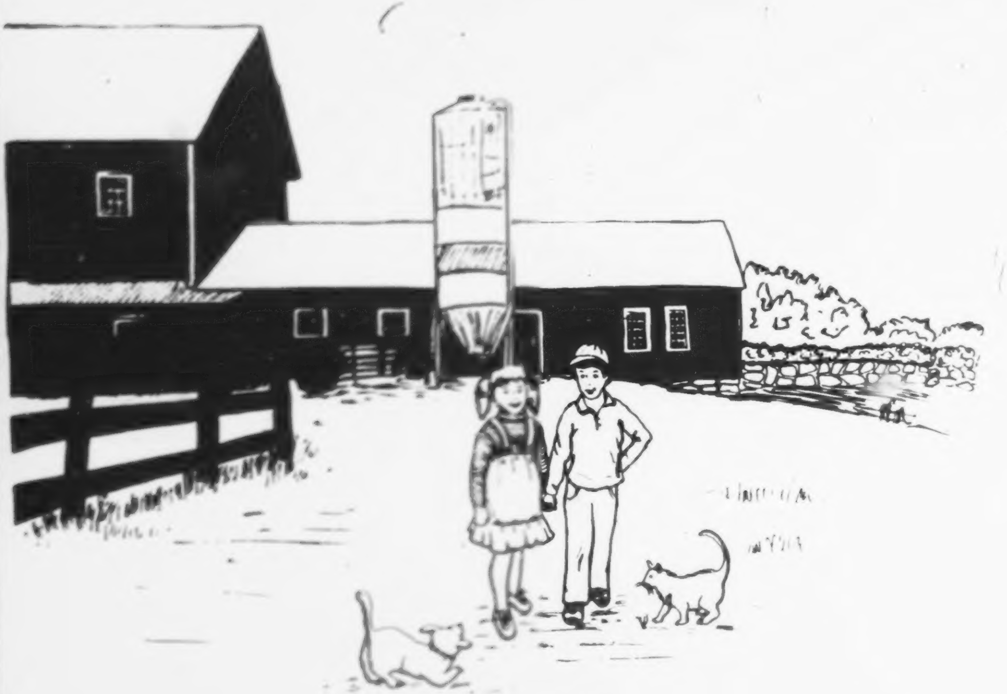
Cuscus stâ **quente**.

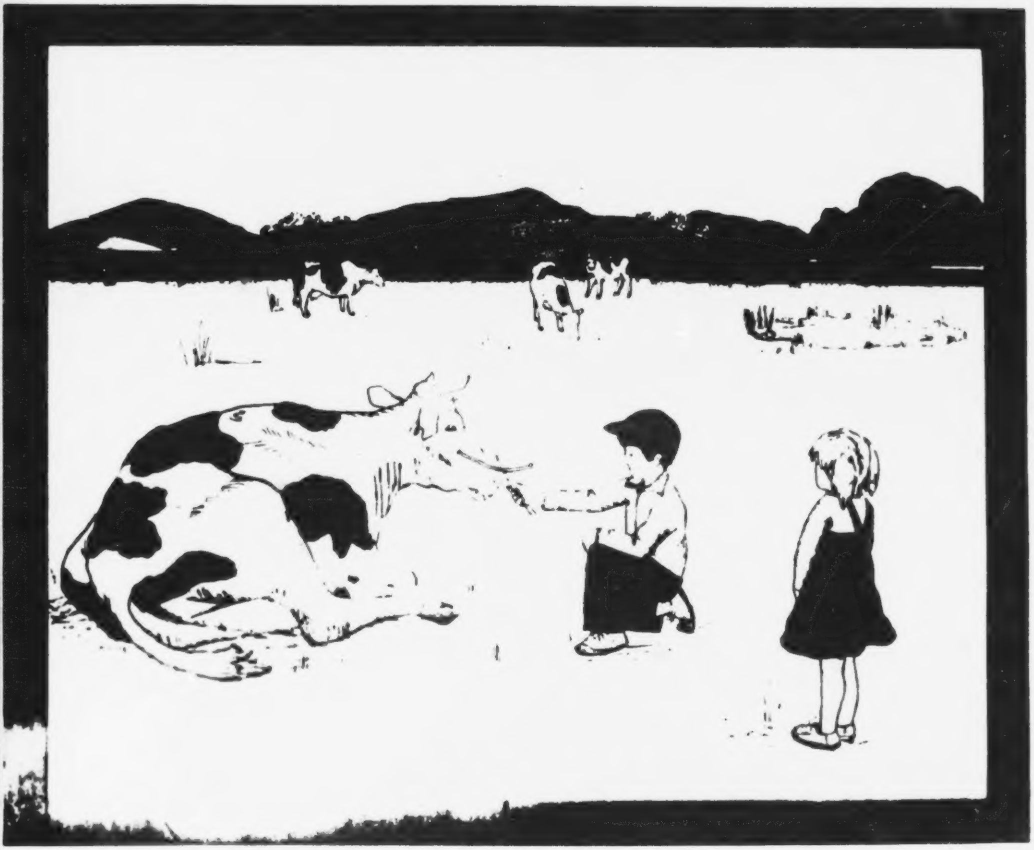


NA QUINTA DE TI PALO

Un dia Beto bâ visitâ sé tio Palo.
Piloto co Miau bâ co el.
Ti Palo ta morâ muto londje.
El ta morâ na campo.

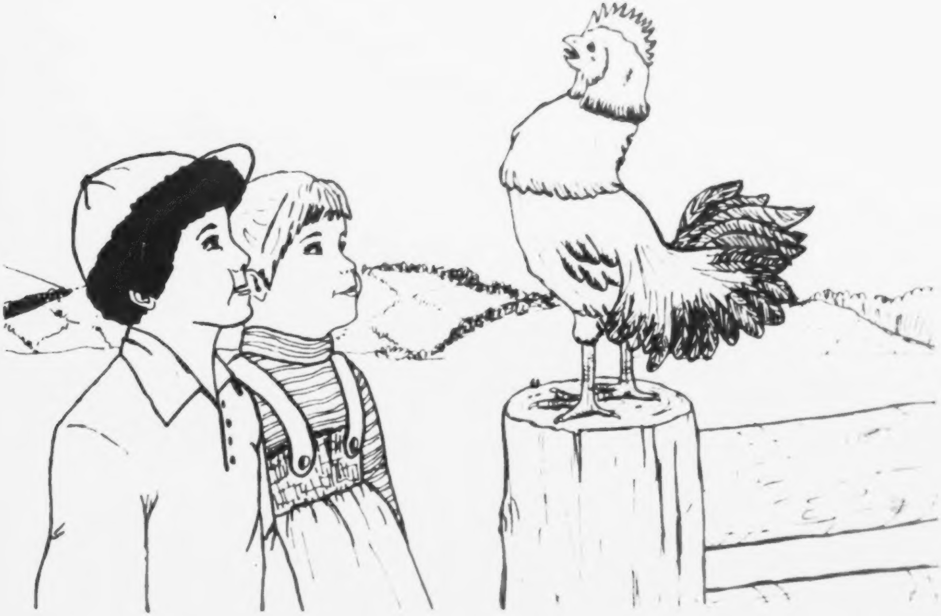
Ti Palo ten un fidja. Sé nome é Fátima.
Fátima é primo de Beto.
Fátima pegâ Beto na mon e es bâ passeâ na quinta.
Miau co Piloto bâ co es.

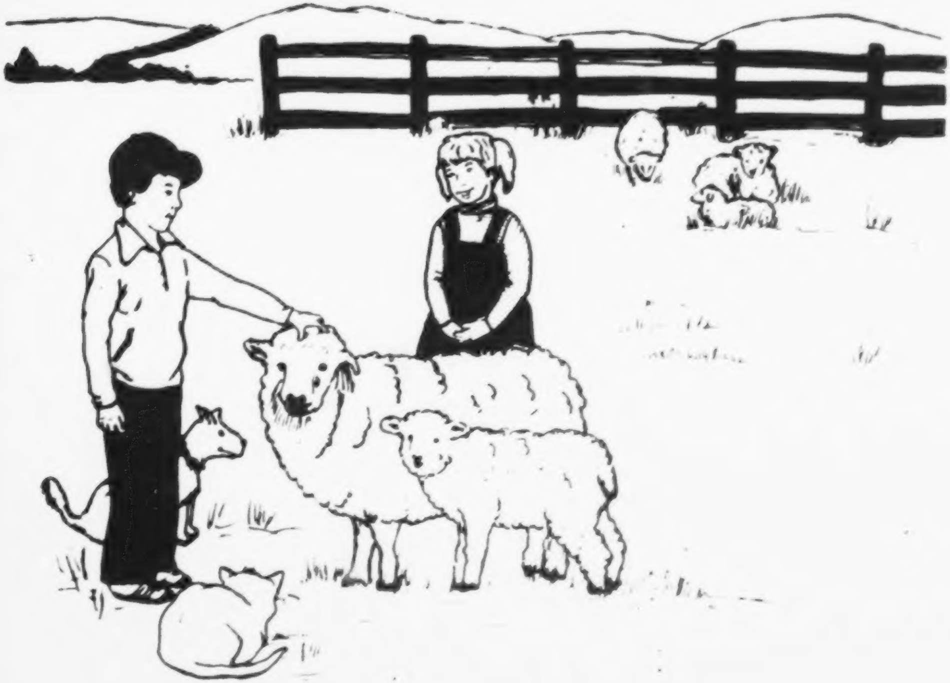




Fátima co Beto odjâ un baca detado.
Beto frâ: — Fátima, odjâ cumá es baca ten odjo grande!
Baca respondê'l — nha boca inda é mas grande.
Miau co Piloto arrí muto.
Fátima co Beto també arrí.

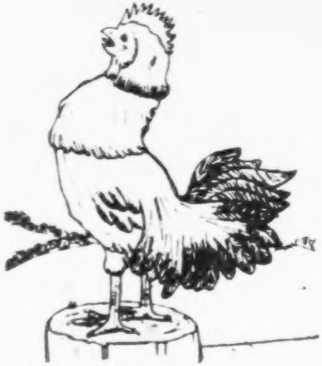
Es odjâ també un galo.
Beto frâ: — es galo ten odjo pequeninho.
Sin — galo frâ — ma 'n ta cantâ rijo.
'N ta scordâ tudo djente na quinta.
Nhos crê ubí? — Có-có-ró-có!
Miau co Piloto arrí muto.
Fátima co Beto també arrí.



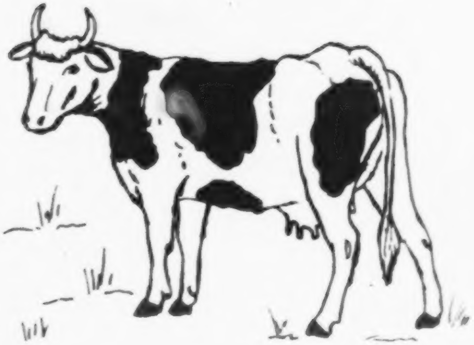


Fátima co Beto tambê odjâ uns carnero.
Beto corrê's mon e brincâ co es.
Beto gostâ de's.
Miau co Piloto tambê gostâ de's.
Fátima co Beto depós bâ pa dento.
Miau co Piloto bâ co es.

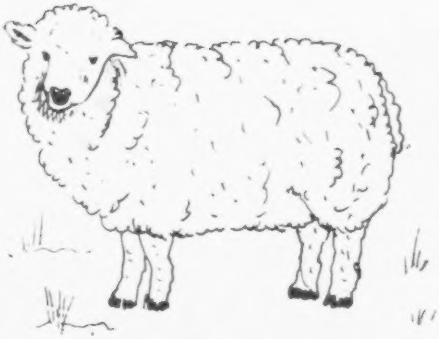
Beto gostâ de es visita.
Beto gosta de odjâ



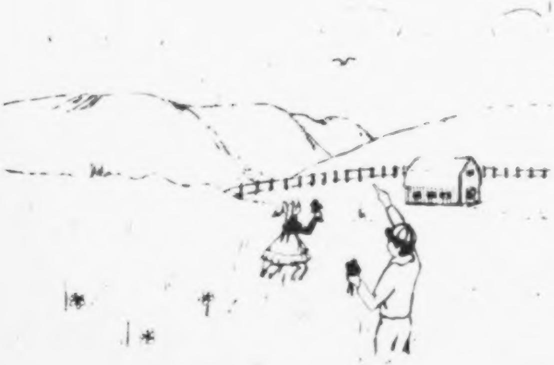
galo



baca



carnero



Fátima gostâ de's visita de Beto.

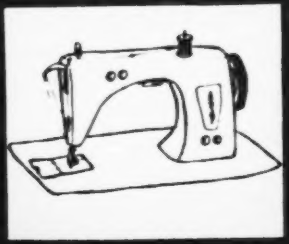
Pensâ:

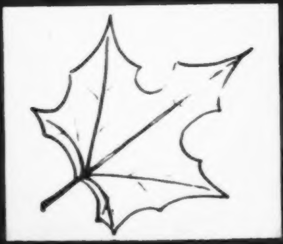
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

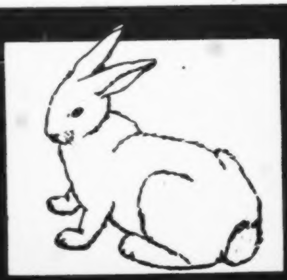
1. Cusé que Beto co Fátima odjâ ne's visita?
2. Undê que ti Palo ta morâ?
3. Quen que bâ djunto co Beto co Tina?
4. Cusé que baca frâ Beto?
5. Miau co Piloto gostâ de es visita?
6. Fátima ta gostaba de Beto ben visitâ'l oto bez?

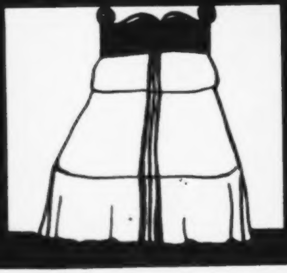
Scodjê:

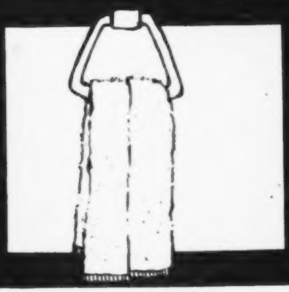
Cal de's desenho que ten son /k/?

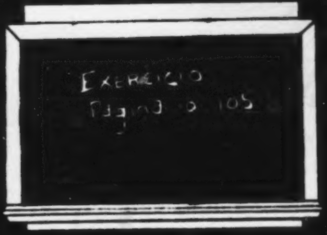




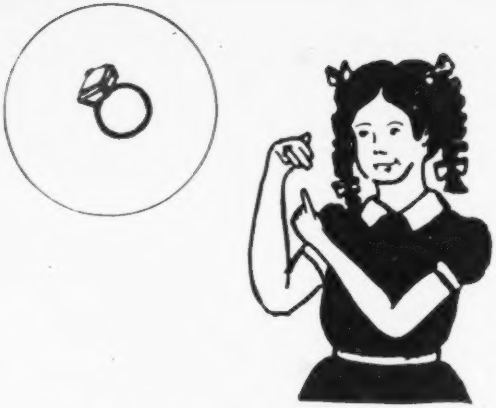




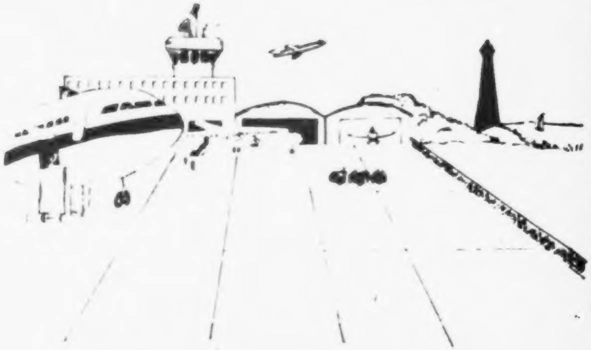




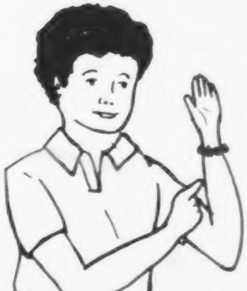
al, el, il, ol, ul.



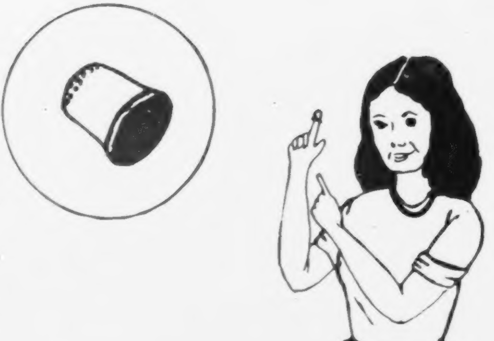
Tina ten un an**el.**



Djunto co aeroporto ten un far**ol.**



Beto ten un pu**l**sera.

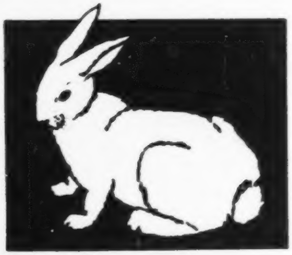


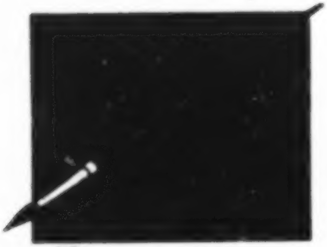
Mamá ten un ded**al.**

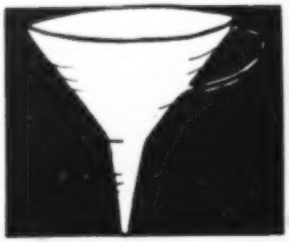
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

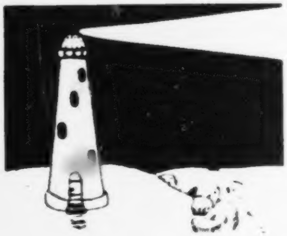
1. Cusé que Beto co Tina bâ fazê na aeroporto?
2. Cumá que Pedro ben?
3. Cusé que Beto co Tina fazê quel hora que es odjâ Pedro?
4. Dja bo andâ de avian algun bez? Frâ algun cusa sobre bo viage de avian.

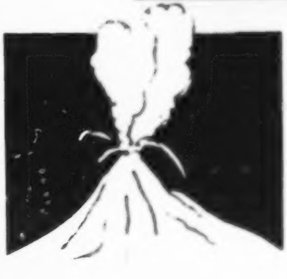
Cal é de's desenho que ten son /al/.

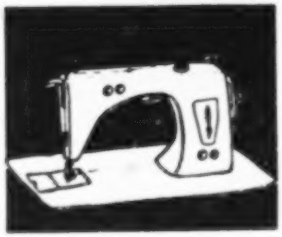




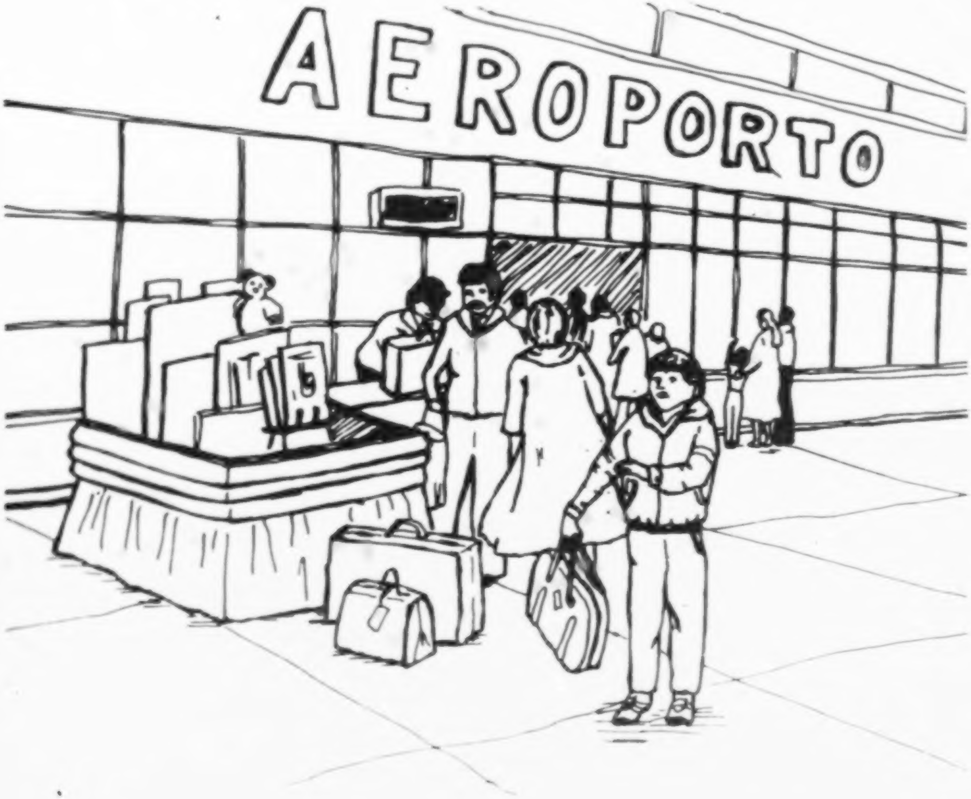


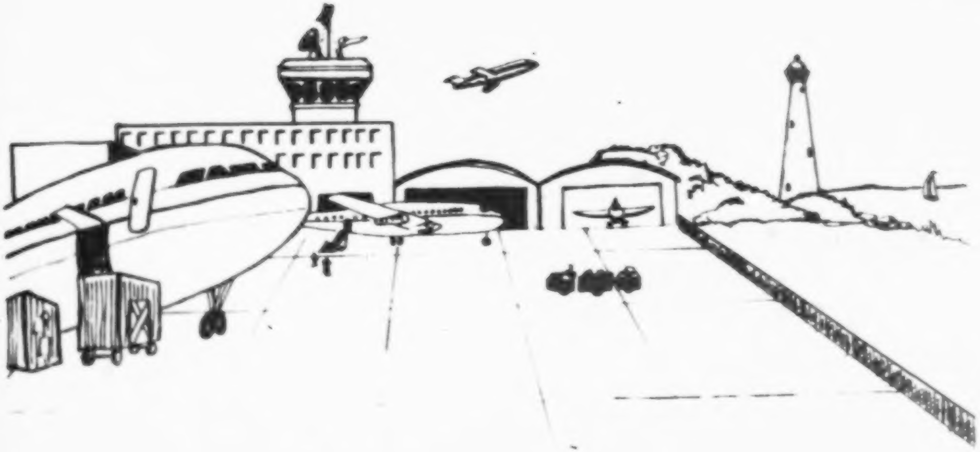






Beto co Tina odjâ Pedro saí de avian.
Tina co Beto gritâ: - entan Pedro!
Entan prima! Entan nha tius! - Pedro respondê's.
Depós de es frâ mantenha es bâ pa casa.
Mai de Pedro mandâ Tina un anel e Beto un pulsera.
Pedro ficâ dos semana co es.

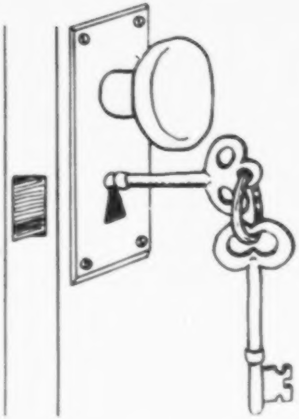




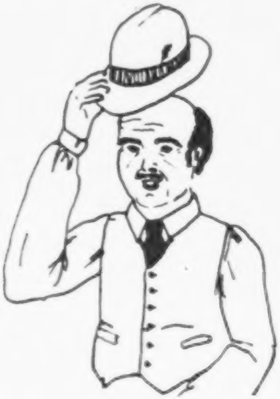
NA AEROPORTO

Beto co Tina bâ aeroporto.
Es bâ encontrâ co sé's primo Pedro.
Sé's mai co sé's pai bâ co es.
Pdro ben de londje odjâ's.
El ben nun avian muto grande.
Avian parâ djunto co djanela.

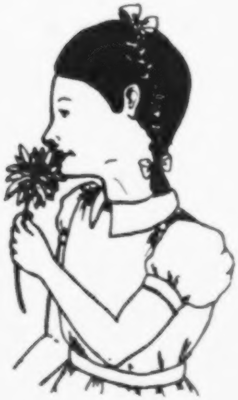
tch



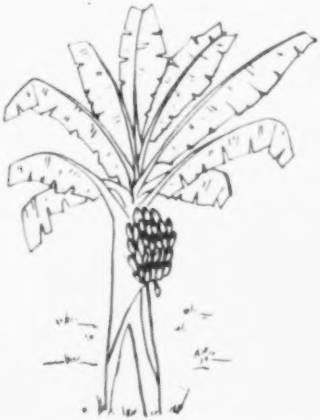
tchabe stâ na porta.



Avó ten un **tch**apeu.

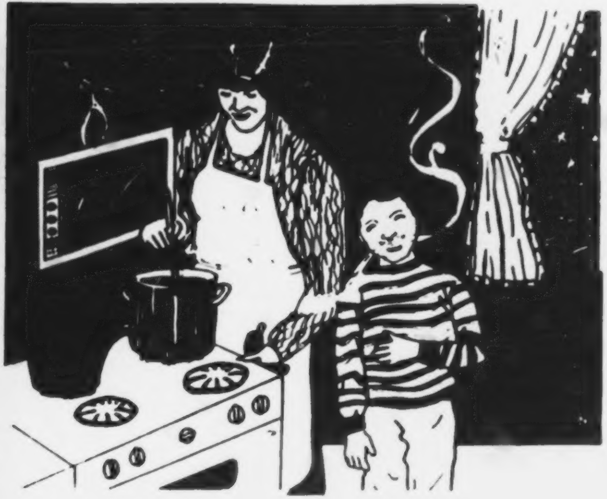


Tina stâ **tch**erâ flor.



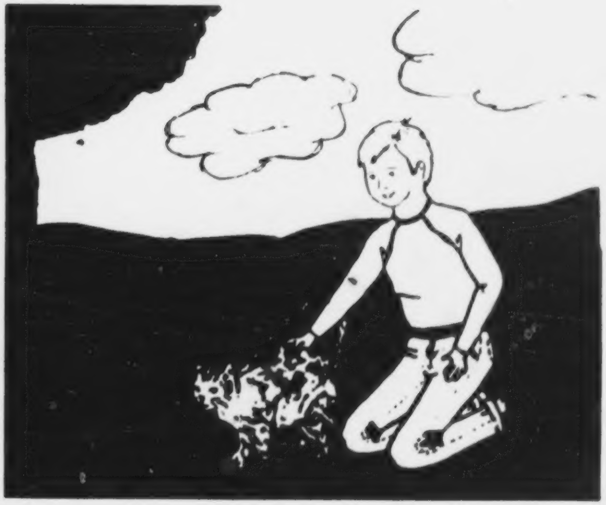
Bananera tenê ca**tch**o.

NHA CINCO SENTIDO



Beto podê tcherâ comida.
Ma el ca podê tcherâ strela.

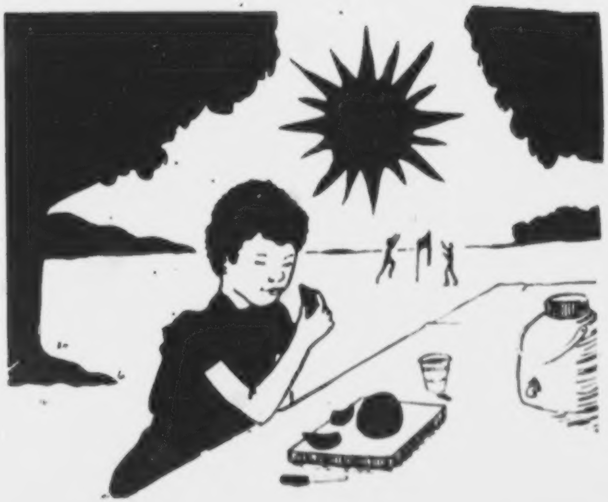
Beto stâ tcherâ comida.
El ta tcherâ co sentido de **tchero.**



João podê palpâ un gato.
Ma el ca podê palpâ nuven.

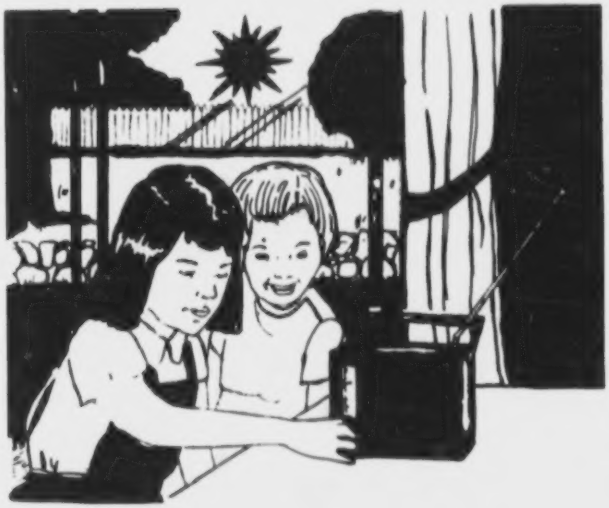
João stâ palpâ un gato.
El ta palpâ co sentido de **tato.**

Ana ta gostâ de comê larandja.
Ma el ca podê comê sol.

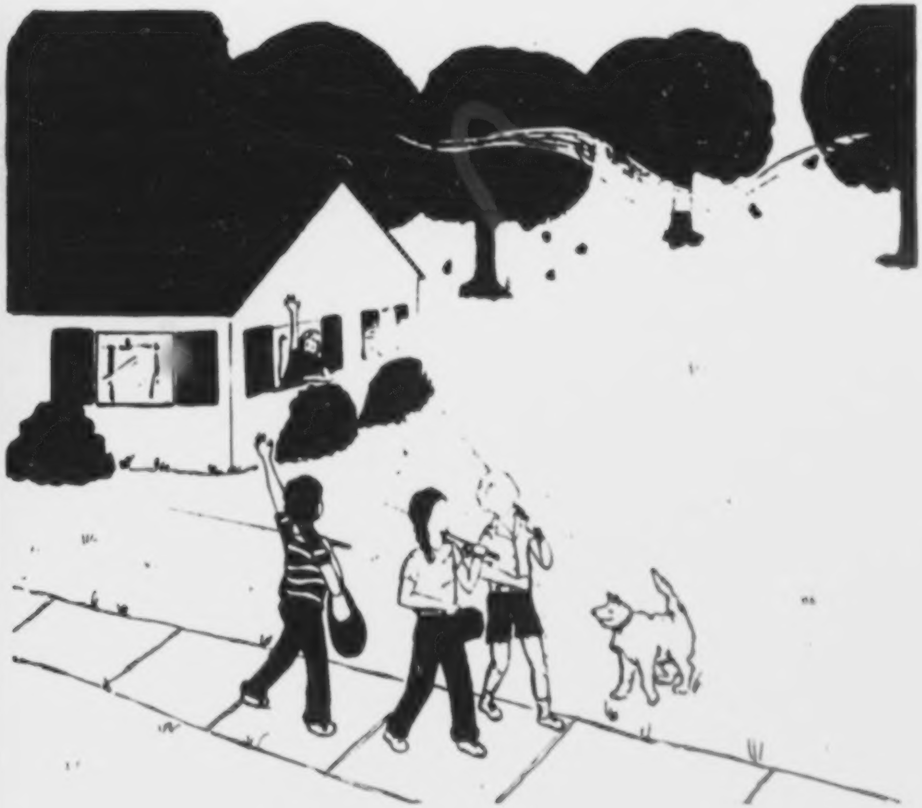


Ana ta gostâ de larandja.
El ta atchâ laranja sabe co sentido de **gosto.**

Isabel co Maria podê ubi rádio.
Ma es ca podê ubi lua.



Isabel co Maria stâ ubi rádio.
Es ta ubi co sentido de **audiçan.**



Meniso podê odjâ un amigo na djanela.
Ma es ca podê odja bento.

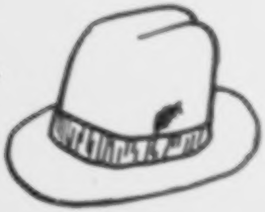
Meniso stâ odja se's amigo na djanela.
Es ta odjâ co sentido devisan.

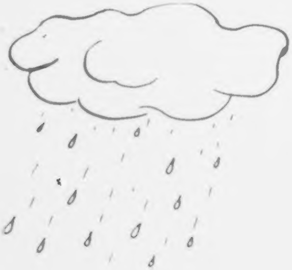
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

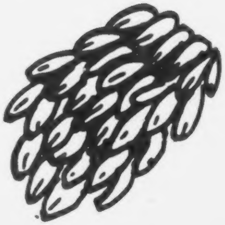
1. **Frâ algun cusa que** bo podê ubí.
2. **Frâ algun cusa que** bo podê tocâ na el.
3. **Frâ algun cusa que** bo podê tcherâ.
4. **Frâ algun cusa que** bo podê odjâ.
5. **Frâ algun cusa que** bo podê comê.

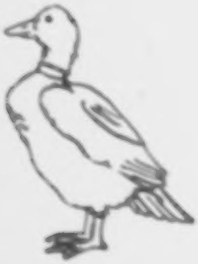
Scodjê:

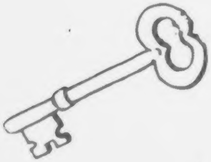
Cal é nome de ques desenho que ta screbedo co **tch.**

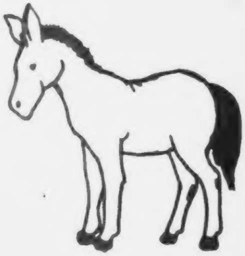




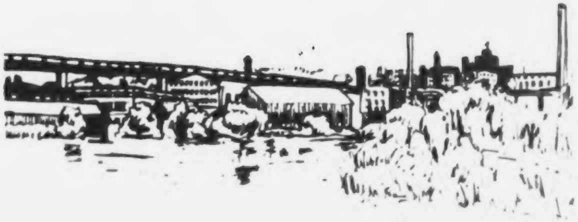




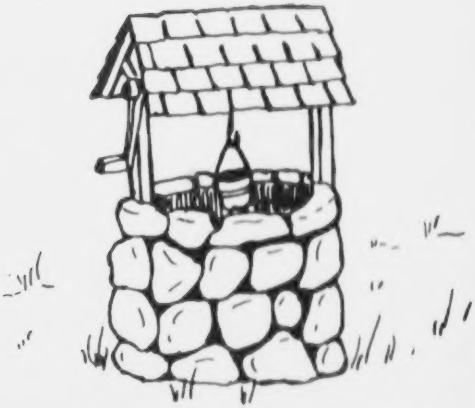




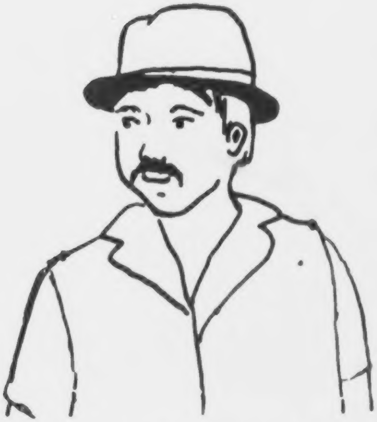
ça, ce, ci, ço, çu.



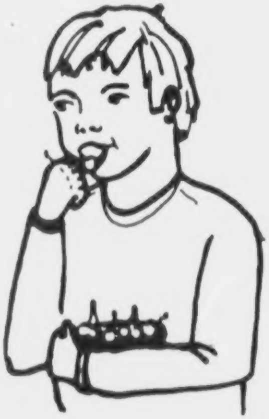
Toni ta morâ na **ci**dade.



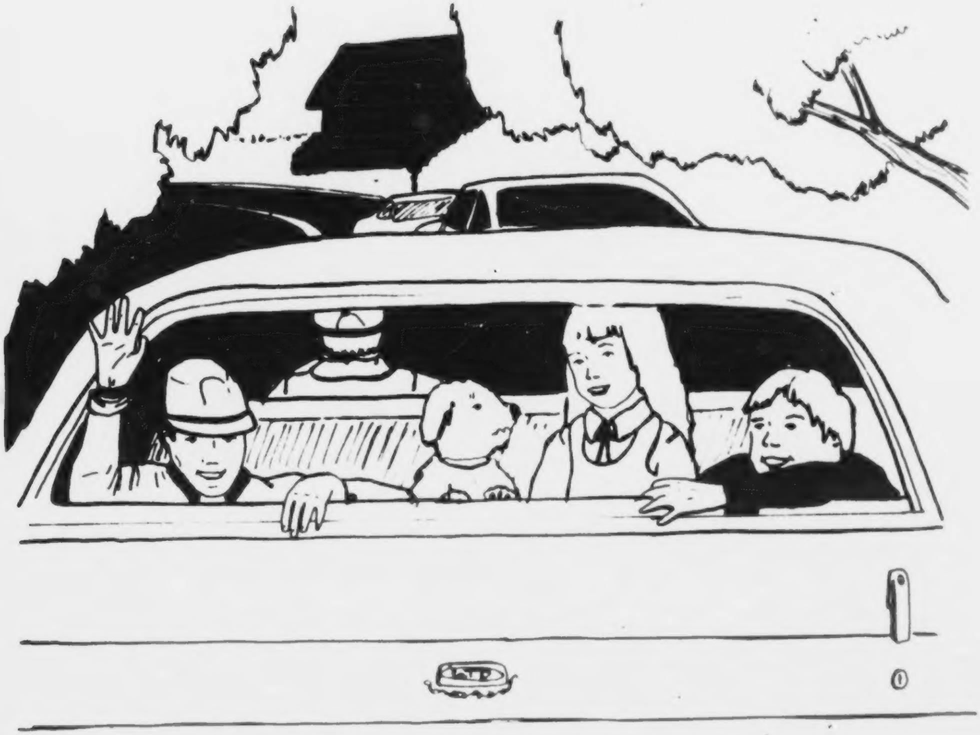
Na casa de Laura ten un po**ço.**



Ti Artur tenê tchapeu na cabe**ça**.



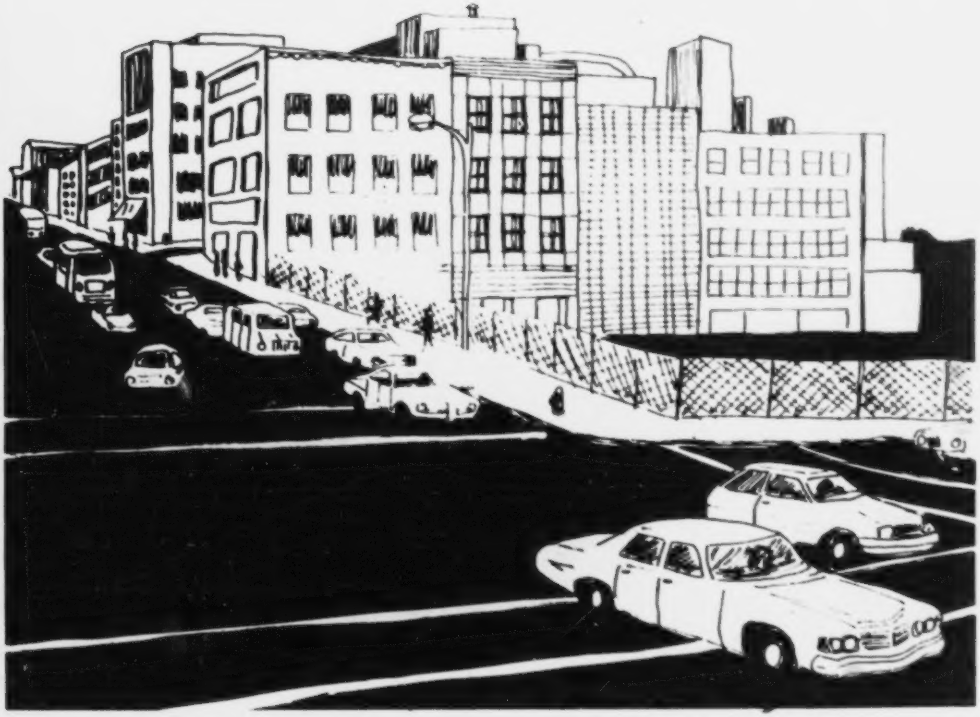
João ta gosta de **ce**reja.

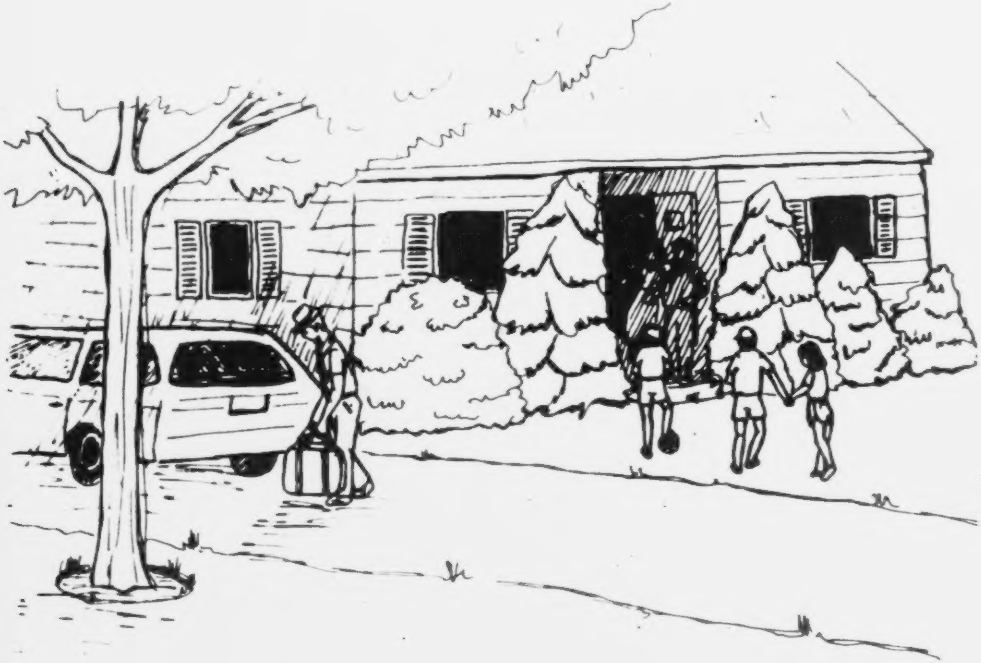


UN VIAGE ATÉ CIDADE

Toni ta morâ na cidade.
Un dia el bâ visitâ sé tiu Artur.
Sé tiu ta morâ na vila e el ten dos fidjo.
Un co nome Laura e untrun co nome João.
Toni passâ un semana co es.
Na fin de semana ti Artur bâ lebâ Toni sé casa.
Laura co João bâ co es.

Canto es tchegâ cidade es atchâ tcheu carro na caminho.
Toni frâ ti Artur: - nho bâ co cudado.
Ten tcheu carro na caminho - Laura frâ's.
No stâ tchegâ! - ti Artur respondê.
João frâ: - casa de li é tudo grande.





Mai co pai de Toni staba ta sperâ's.
Ti Artur bâ panhâ mala na carro.
Toni braça sé mai co sé pai.
Laura co João frâ sé's tiu co sé's tia mantenha.
Es tudo staba contente.

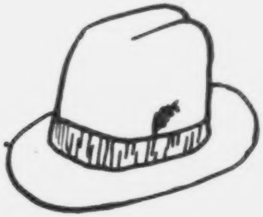
Pensâ:

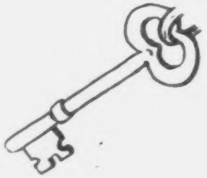
Respondê ques pergunta que ta segui:

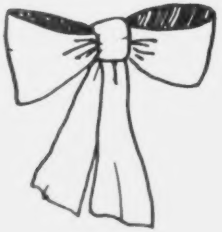
1. Undé que Toni ta morâ?
2. Laura ficâ contente pamó el visitâ sé tiu co co sé tia?
3. Cidade que Toni ta morâ é grande?
4. João co Laura ficâ dimirado canto es tchegâ cidade? Pamó?
5. Toni co sé primos ficâ contente co es passeio?

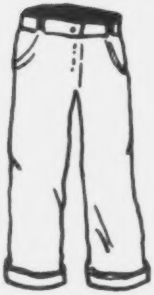
Scodjê:

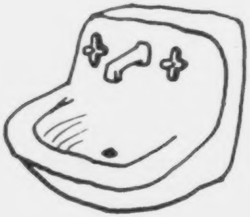
Cal é de's desenho que ten son de /s/.

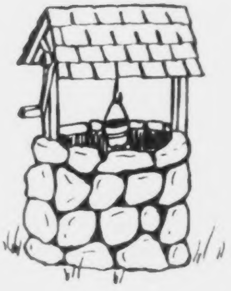




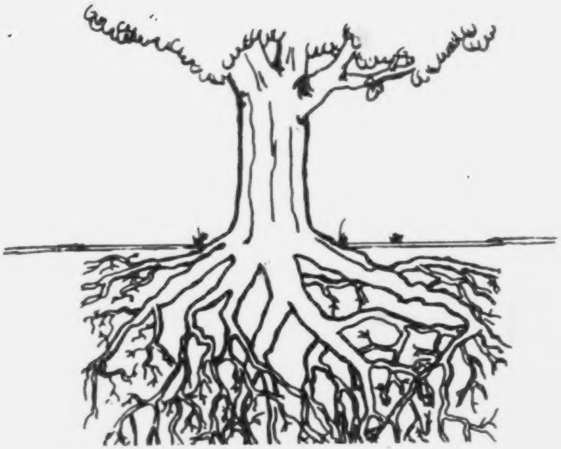








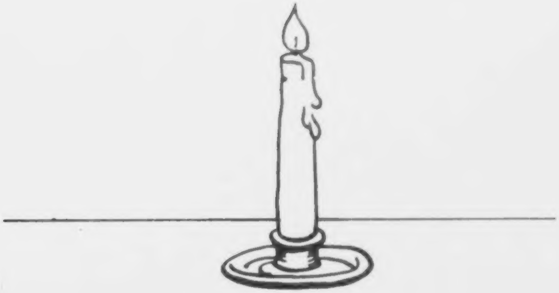
az, ez, iz, oz, uz.



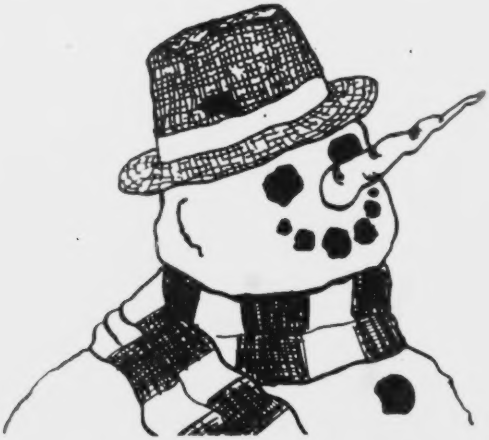
É raiz de arvre.

10

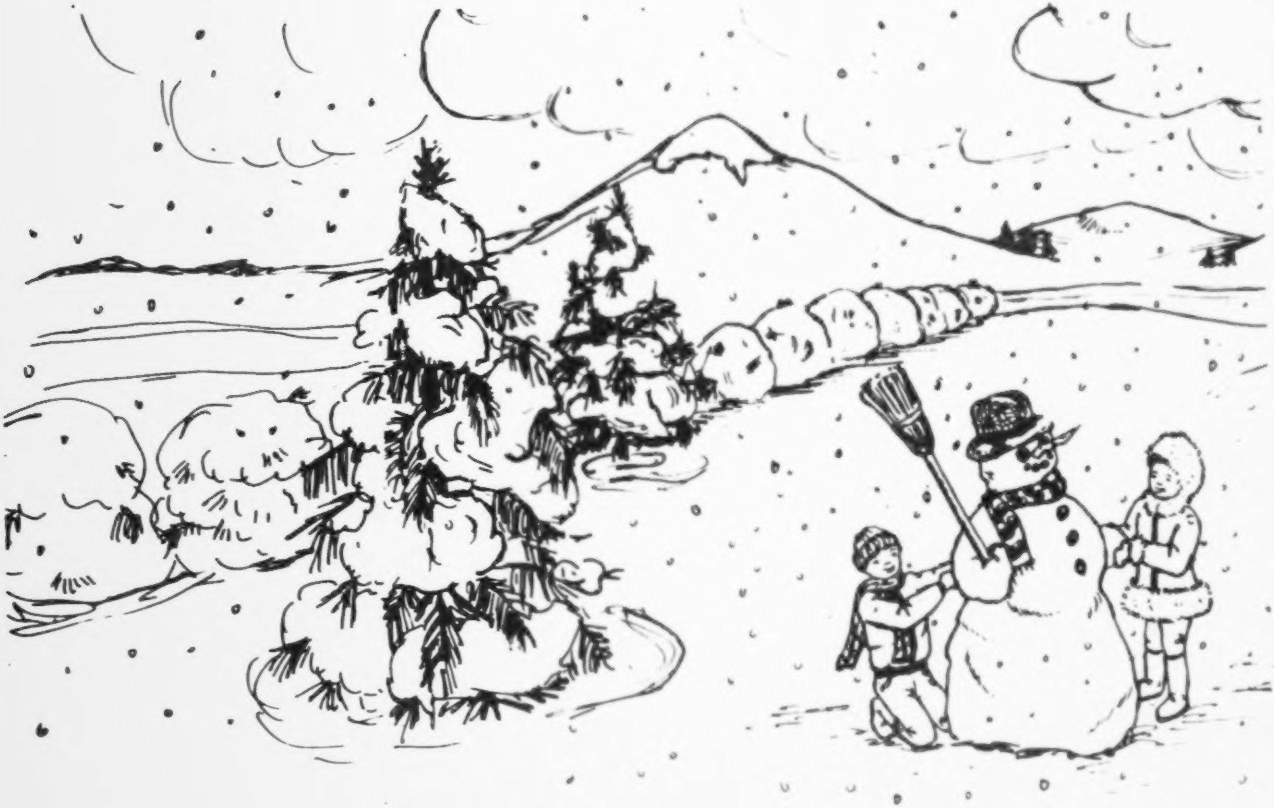
É número dez.



É luz de vela.



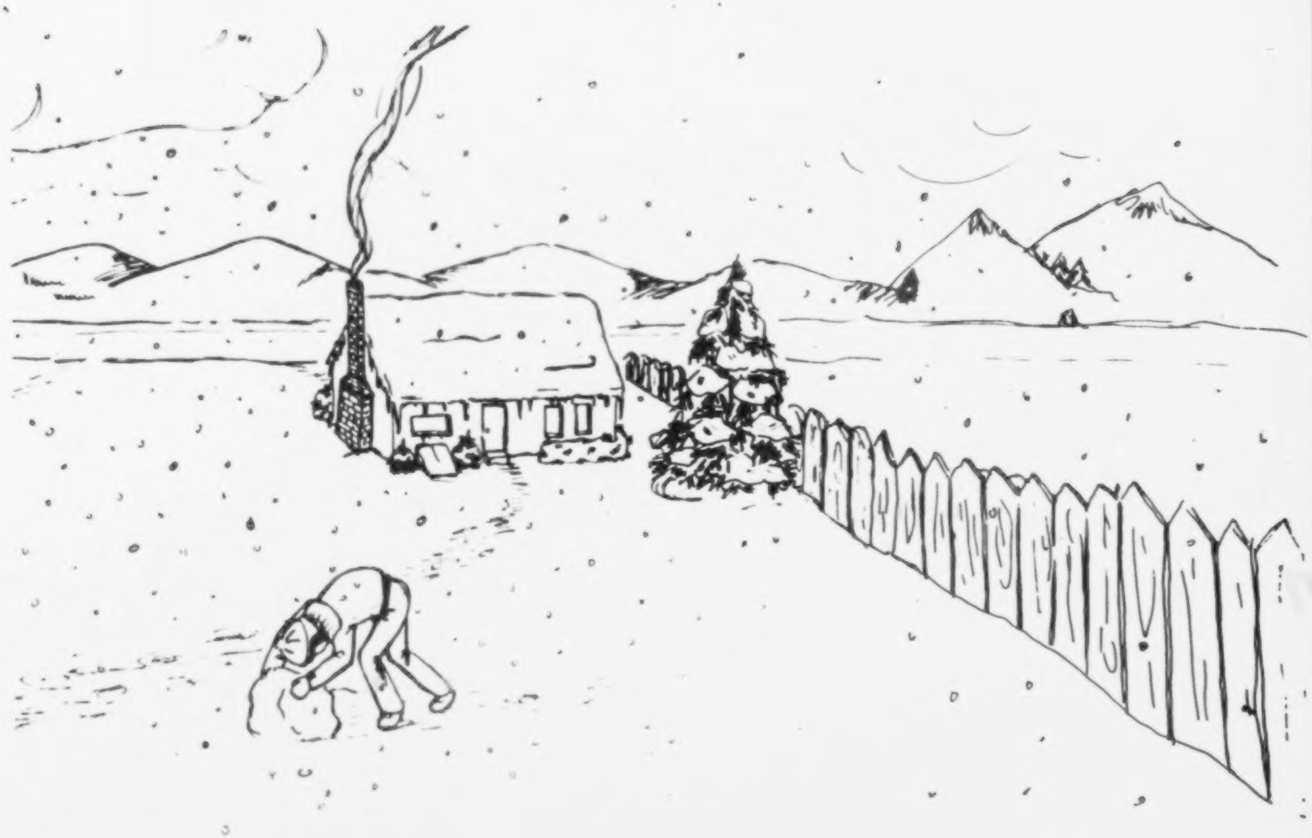
Home de neve ten lenço na pesc**oz.**



INVERNO

É Inverno. Bento, frio, neve...
É primero bez que Beto co Tina stâ passâ Inverno na Merca.
Un palmanhá es lebantâ e es odjâ tudo branco la pa fora.

Tina — Mamá, que cusa branco é quel la pa fora?
Mai — É neve, nha fidja.
Beto — Cusé que ques meniso stâ fazê?
Mai — Es stâ brincâ co neve. Es stâ fazê un home de neve.



Beto — El ta parcê mé c'un home. El tenê tchapeu na cabeça e un baçora na mon. Tina, odjâ un nariz grande que el ten!

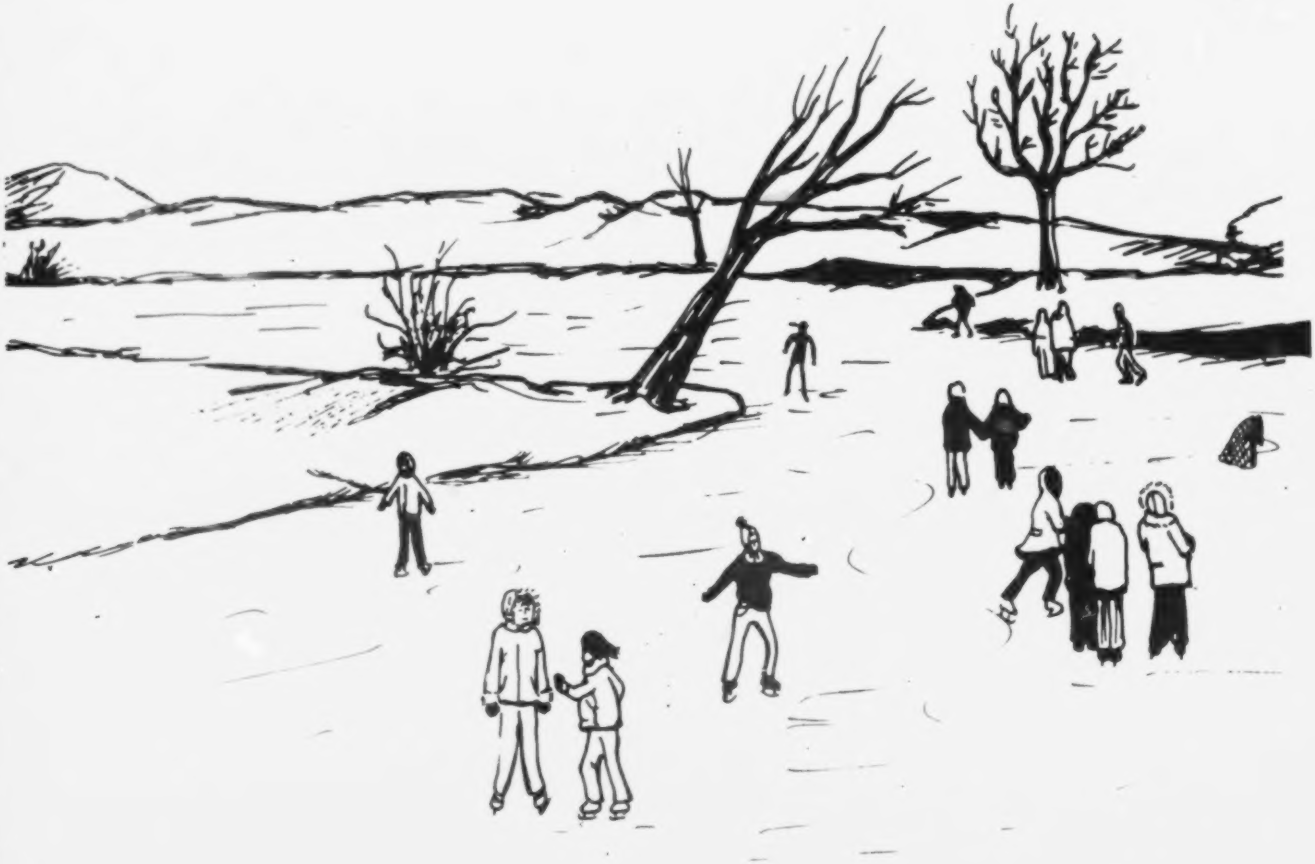
Tina — É simé. Ma cusé que-el tenê na sé pescoz?

Mai — É un cachecol.

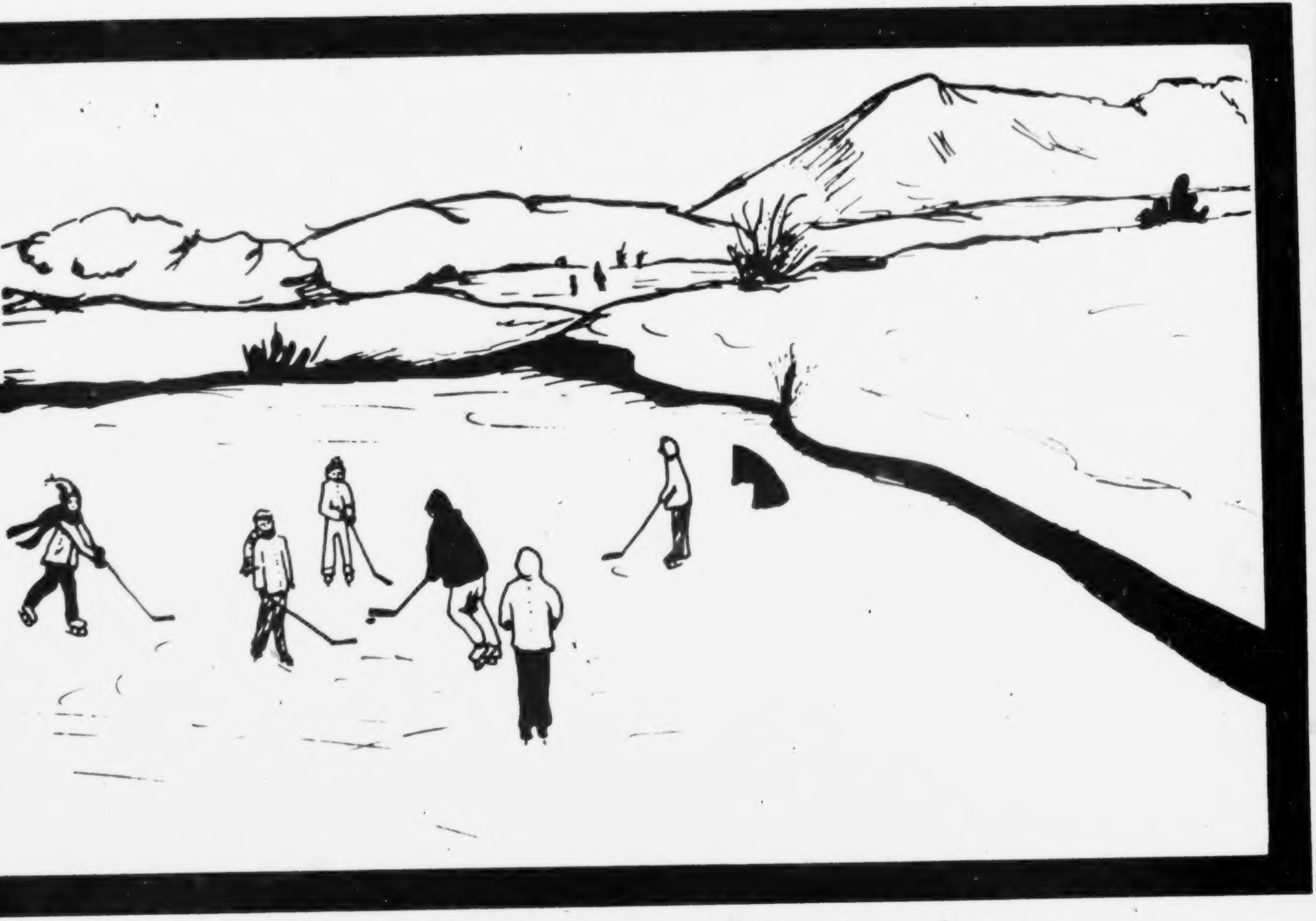
Beto — Cusé que é un cachecol?

Mai — Cachecol é un padaz de pano que un pessoa ta pô na pescoz pa engatchâ frio.

Tina — Que bonito el ficâ!



Ago de lago stâ gelado.
Tcheu meniso stâ ĺa ta brincâ.
Es stâ ta patinâ na gelo.
Algun de's stâ patinâ dreto e co velocidade.
Oto de's inda stâ prendê e as bez es ta caí.
Nun banda de lago stâ dos baliza.



Un grupo de menino stâ djogâ hoquei na gelo.
Meniso matcho stâ djogâ co meniso fémea.
Cada djogador ten un pou entortado na ponta.
Na equipa de meniso fémea Isabel dja marcâ dos gol.
Na equipa de meniso matcho Beto co Toni marcâ un gol cada un de's.
Es stâ empatado co dos gol.

Pensâ:

Respondê ques pergunta que ta segui:

1. Na Inverno ta fazê calor, ta caí neve o plantas ta florâ?
2. Ques meniso que stâ la pa fora es stâ triste o contente?
3. Se era bó cumá bo ta fazeba un home de neve?
4. Pamó que Tina ficâ dimirado canto el odjâ neve?
5. Cusé que ques oto meniso stâ djogâ?
6. Corrê na gelo é face o dificil? Pamó?

Scodjê:

Cal é de's palabra que ten **oz** e **iz**.

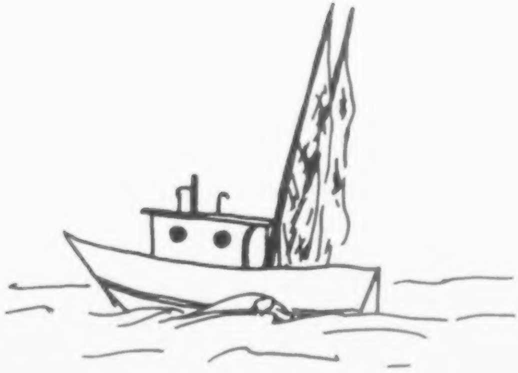
1. Es palabra ta screbedo co **oz** na fin e é bon pa comê.

padaz arroz nariz

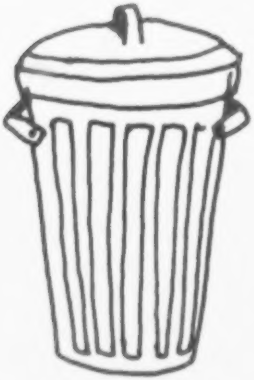
2. Es oto ta screbedo co **iz** na fin e el ta serbí pa tcherâ.

feliz luz nariz

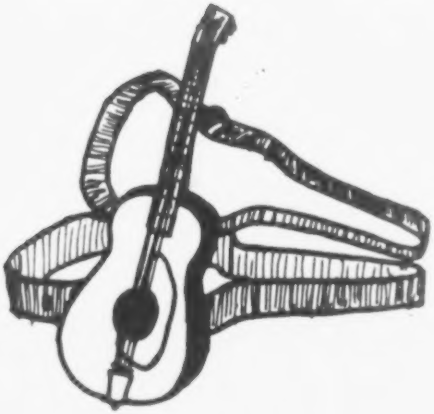
x, ch.



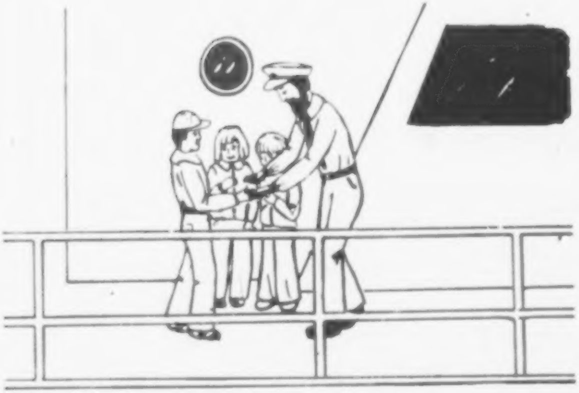
Nabiu ben co pe**x**e tcheu.



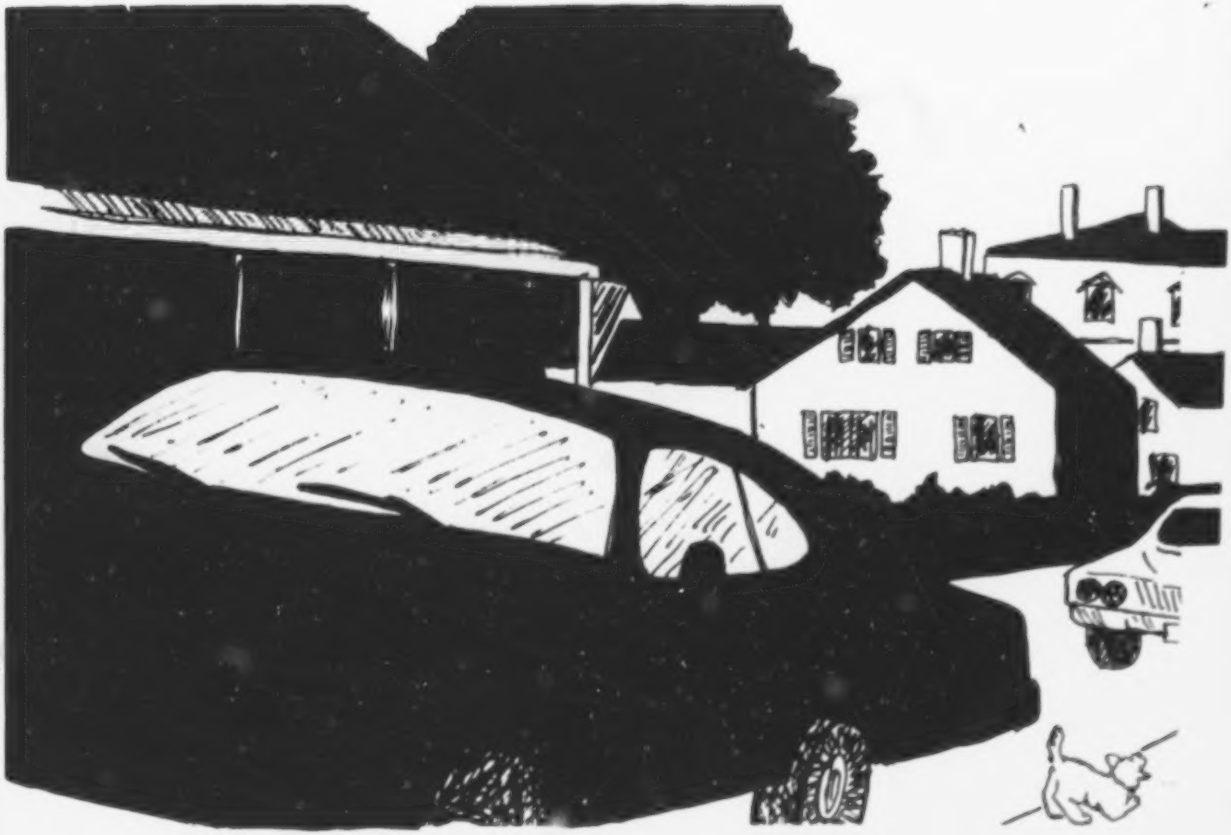
Lata tenê li**x**o.



É ca**x**a de violan.

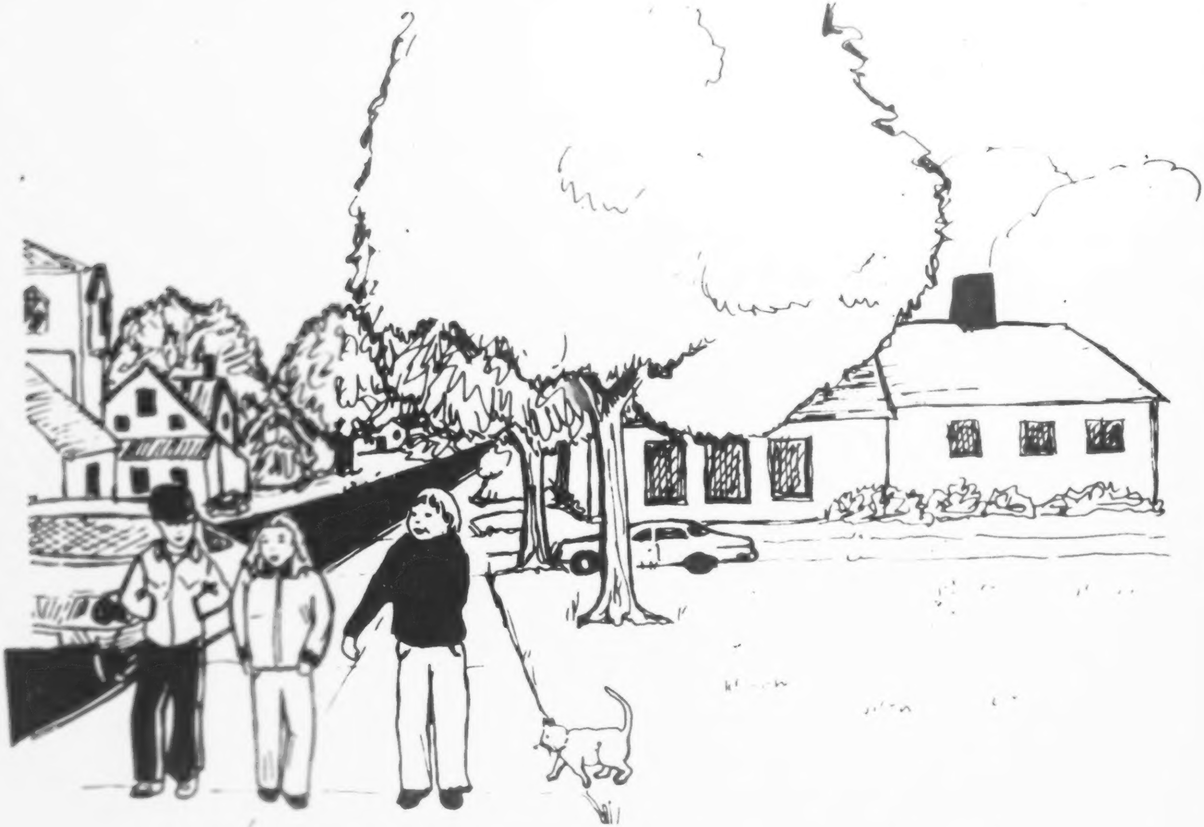


Capitan dâ's **ch**ocolate.

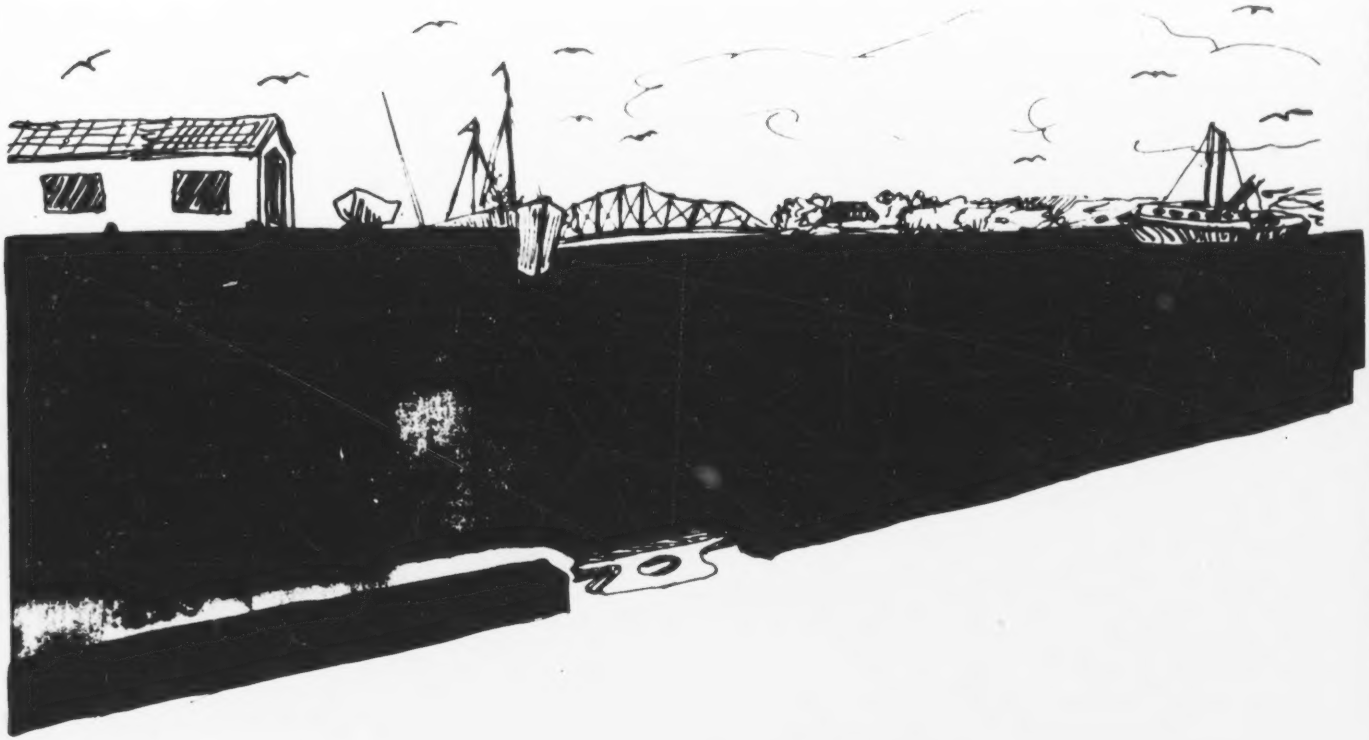


NABIU DE PESCA

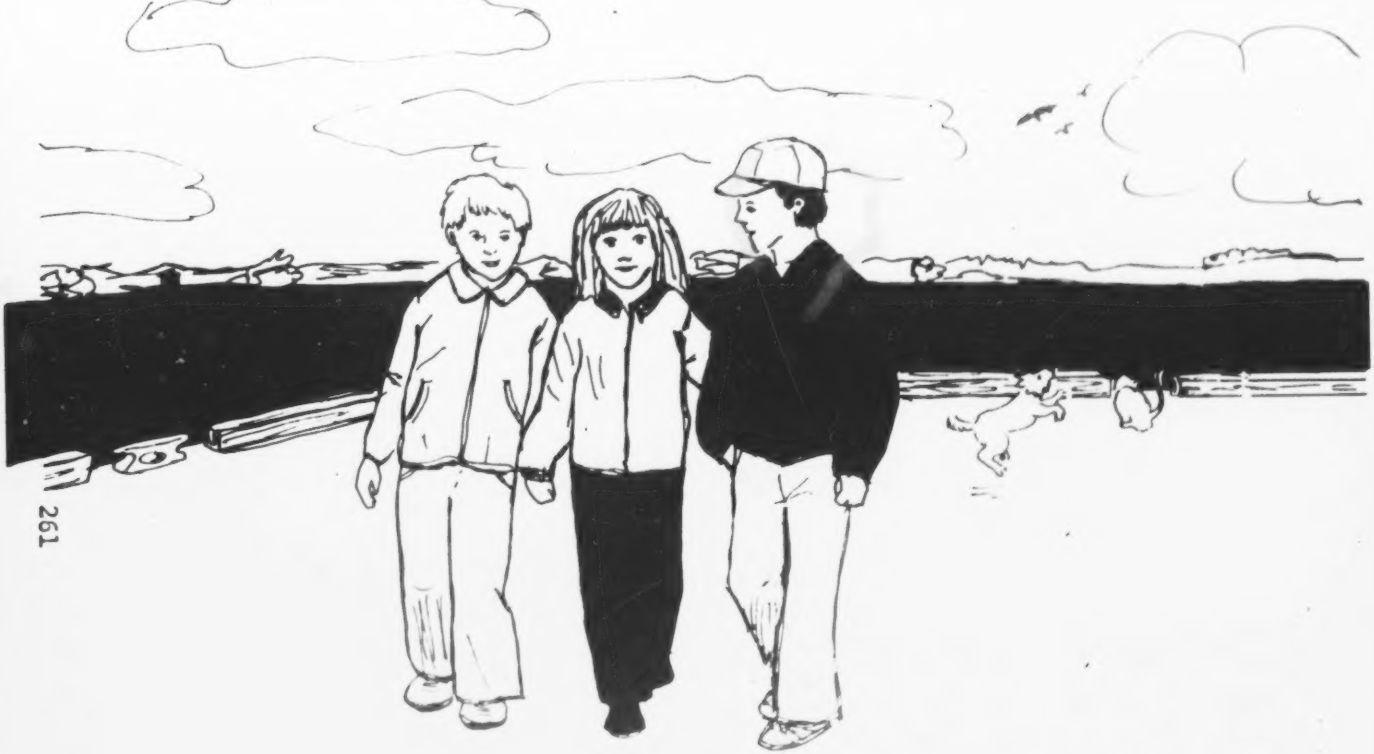
Toni, Laura e João sai de casa.
Es stâ bâ odjâ nabiu de pesca.
Taco co Nico bâ co es.
Taco é nome de catchor.
Nico é nome de gato.
Na caminho es bâ ta papiâ:



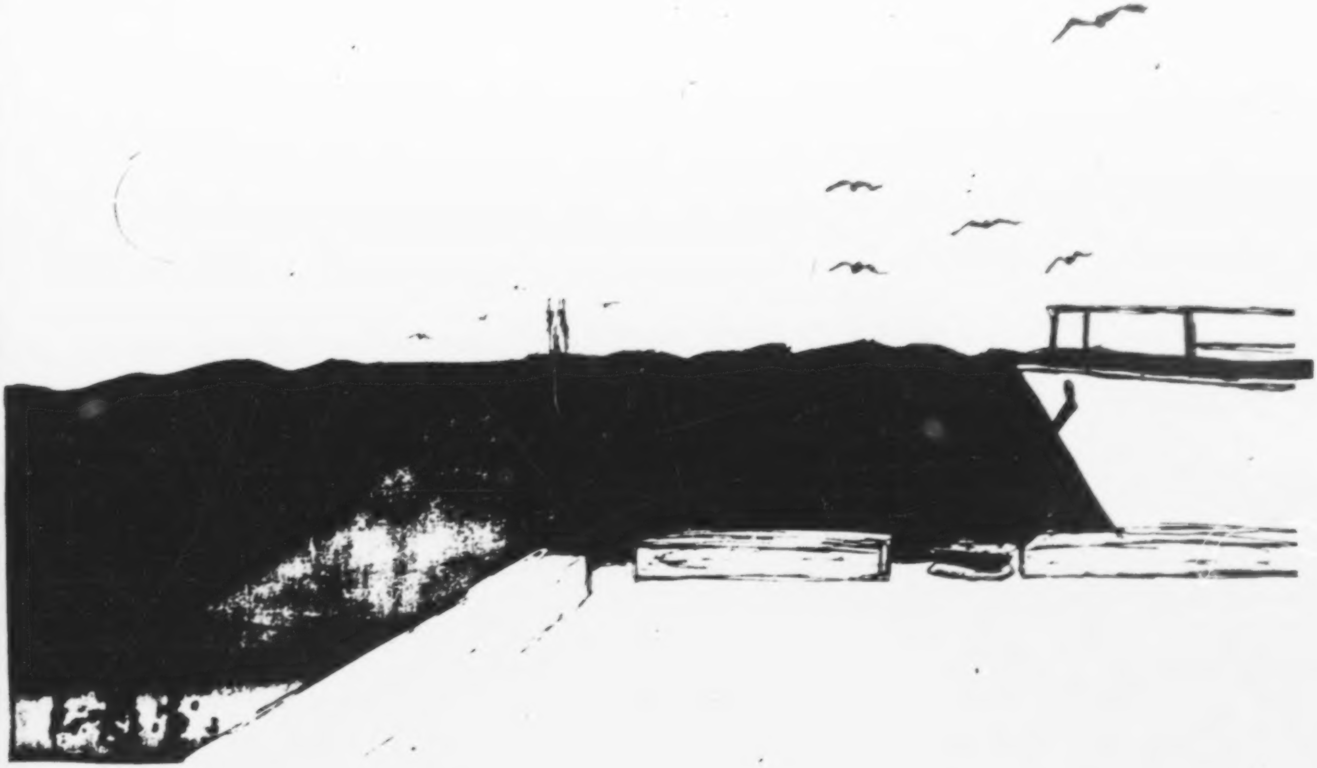
Laura — 'N ta gostâ de odjâ mar!
João — Cumá mar é grande!
Toni — Nabiu debê stâ ta tchegâ.
Laura — Cumá bo sabê?
Toni — Bo ca stâ ubí'l ta pitâ?
Laura — É simé, 'n stâ ubí'l. Pa que el stâ pitâ?
João — É pa visâ que nabiu stâ tchegâ.
Toni — No bâ! No bâ ta corrê!



Toni — No parâ de corrê! No ficâ li mé.
Laura — 'N ca podê corrê mas.
João — Nabiu ta passâ li perto?
Toni — El ta passâ sin. Algun de's ta tracâ li mé.
Laura — Li djunto co nós.
Toni — Sin, li djunto co nós.



Nabiu stâ tchegâ.
Pescador stâ tudo contente.
Ten passo tcheu ta boâ.
Es stâ fazê muto barudjo.
Taco co Nico stâ ardigado.
Es stâ corrê traz de passo.



Laura — **Cabo Verde** dja tchegâ. El ficâ mesmo li perto.

Toni — 'N conchê sé capitan.

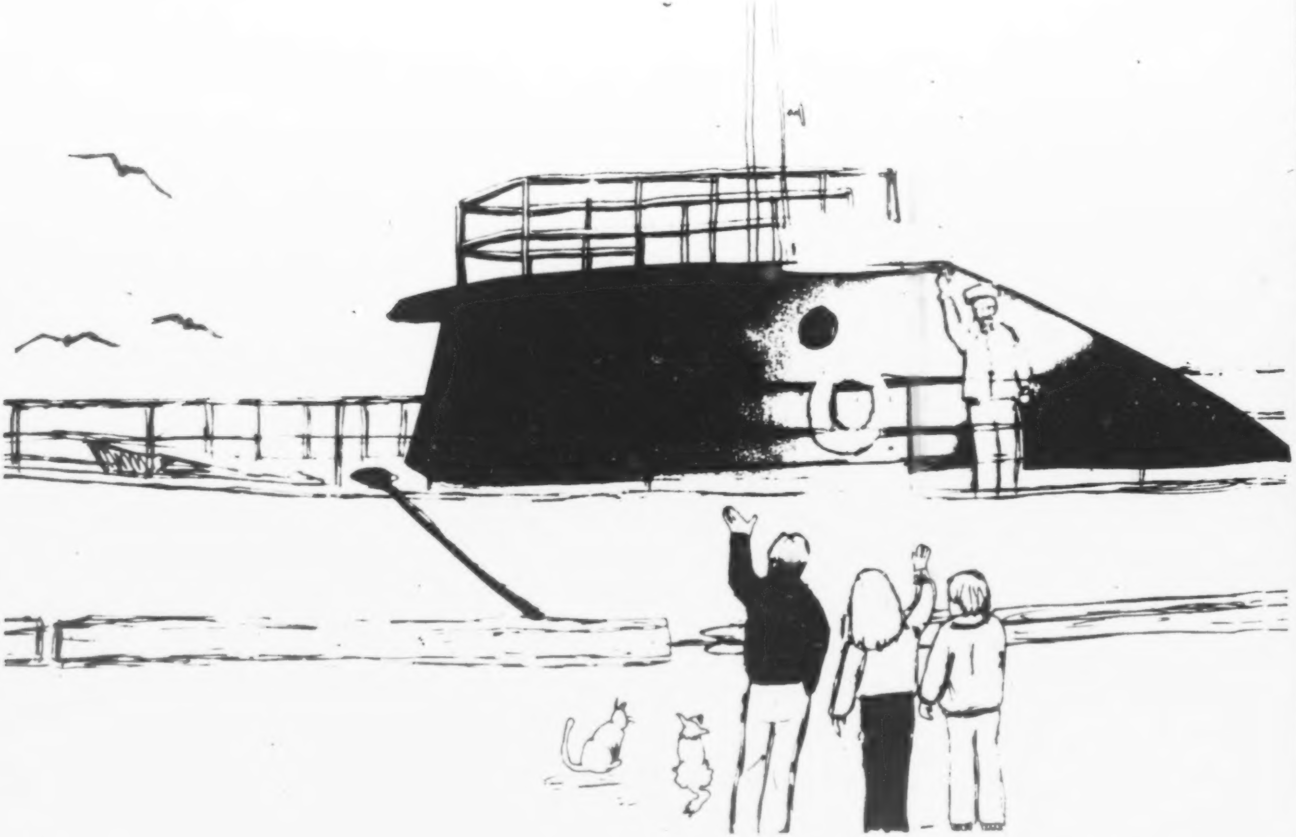
João— Bo stâ brincâ! Bo conchê'l mé?

Toni — É diciso. Sé nome é Anibal.

Toni sanâ'l co mon e gritâ'l: Entan, capitan Anibal!

Entan, Toni! — capitan respondê'l.

Toni — Capitan, nho ta dixâno visitâ nabiu?



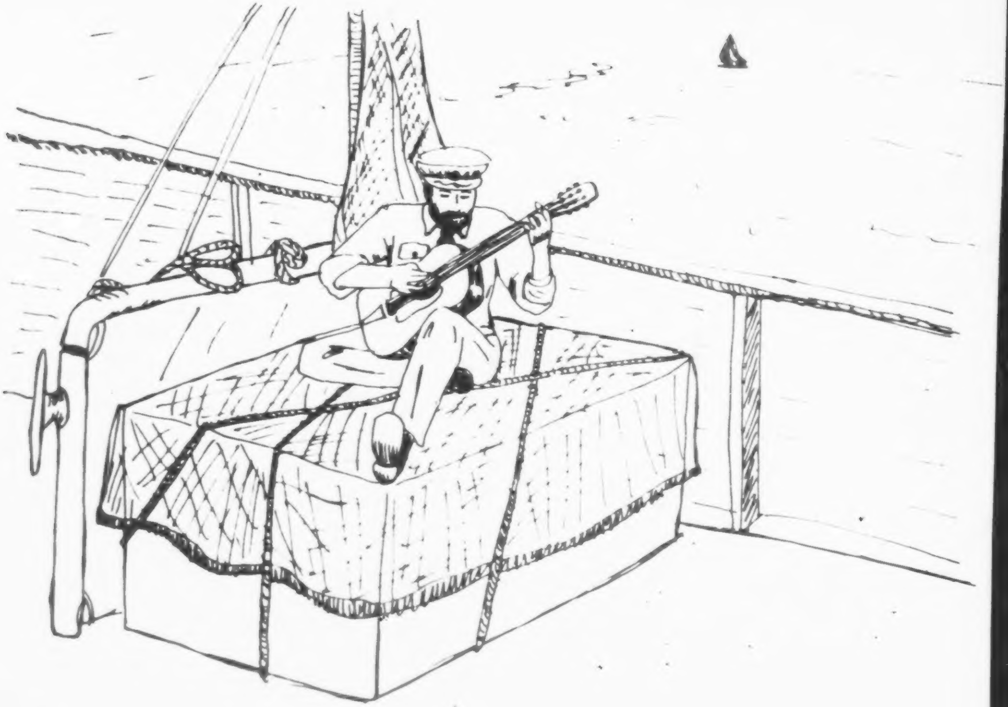
Capitan — Sin, nhos ben... Nhos subí.

Laura — Mi nunca 'n visitâ un nabiu.

João — Mi djâ'n visitâ un mas pequeninho.

Capitan — Nhos subí co cudado!

Toni — Muto obrigado capitan Anibal.

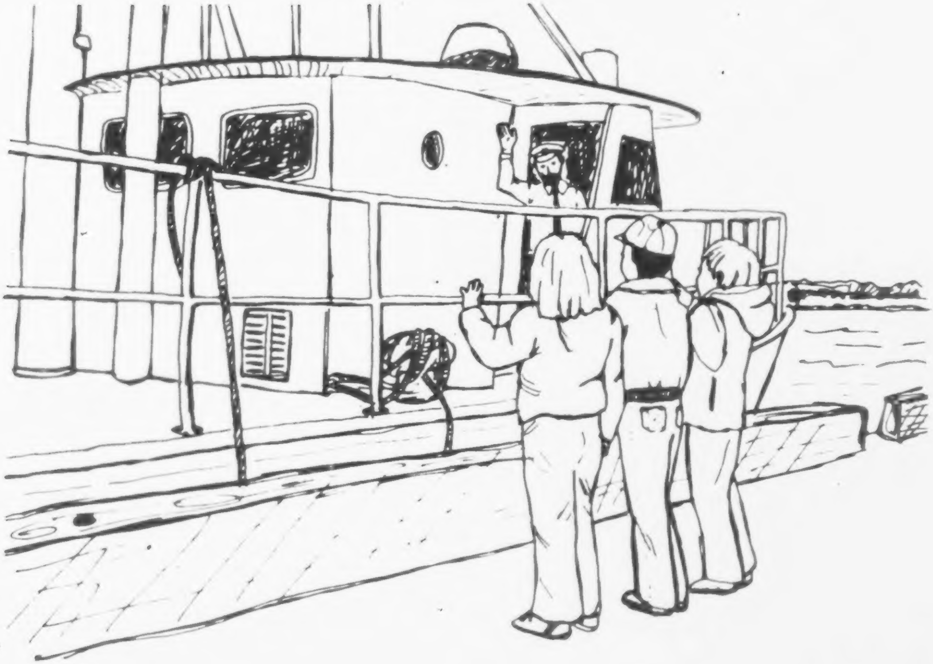


João co Toni — É simé canto pexe, capitan Anibal!
Capitan — Trabadjo tcheu nha meniso.
Capitan pegâ na viola e pô ta cantâ:

Pexe ta saltâ na mar
Pescador ta bâ pescâ's
Tanto trabadjo meniso
Pa djente podê panhâ's.

Toni — Nho ta cantâ sabe, capitan!

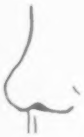
Depós es tudo visitâ nabiu.
Capitan mostrâ's cozinha undé ques ta fazê sé's comida.
El mostrâ's tambê un frigorífico grande undé que es ta pô pexe depós que es pescâ's.
Na fin capitan Anibal dâ's chocolate e gradecê's es visita.
Es gradecê tambê capitan Anibal e es bâ casa tudo contente.

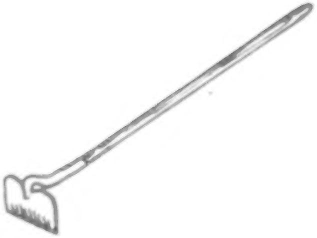


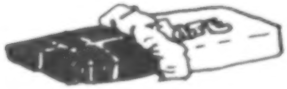
Respondê ques pergunta que ta segui:

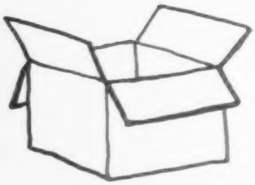
1. Que sinal que ta frabo que un nabiu stâ tchegâ?
2. Pamó que passo stâ fazê muto barudjo?
3. Cumá que nabiu de pesca tchomâ?
4. Quen é sé capitan?
5. Pescâ é dificil o nau?
6. Toni, Laura e João gostâ de visitâ nabiu de pesca?

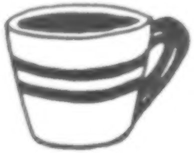
Cal é de's desenho que ten son / /

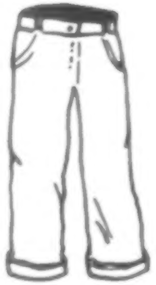




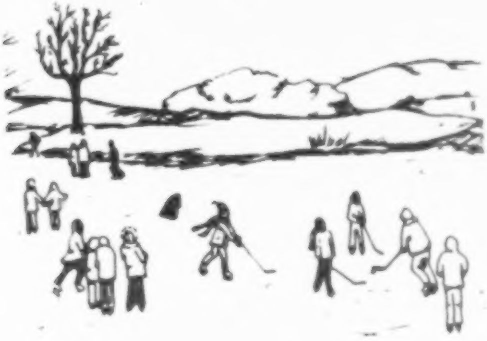




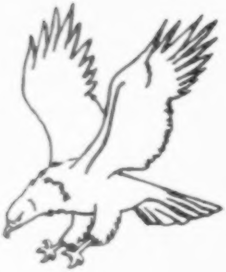




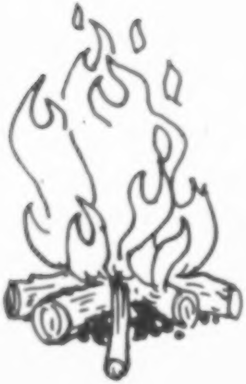
ge, gi, gue, gui.



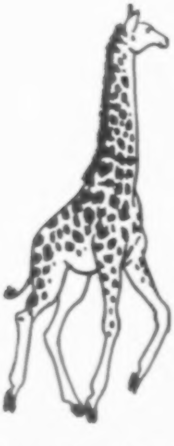
Meniso stâ djogâ na gelo.



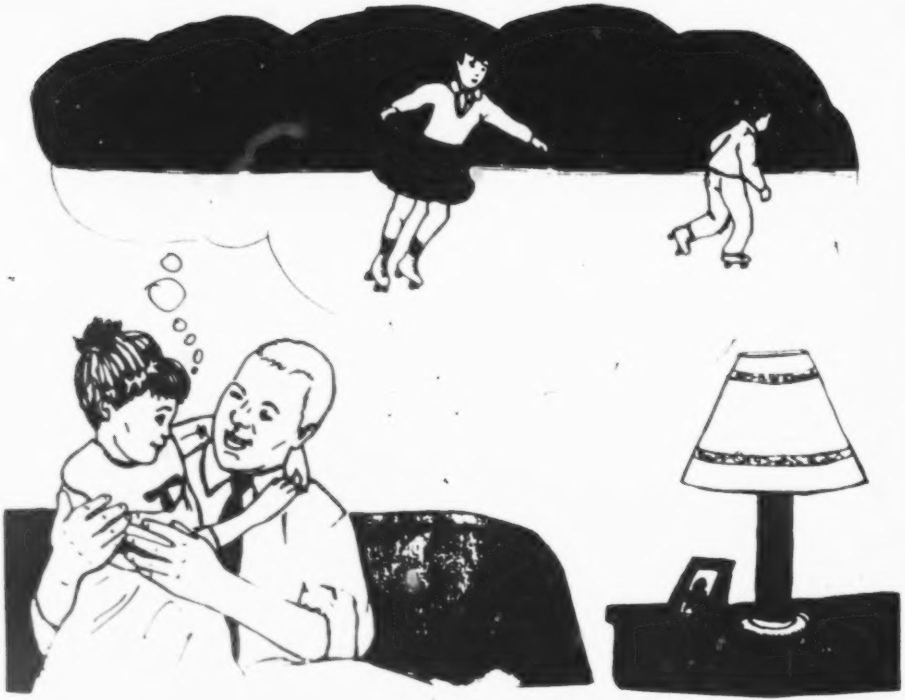
Águia stâ boâ.



Foguera stâ aceso.



Girafa stâ corrê.

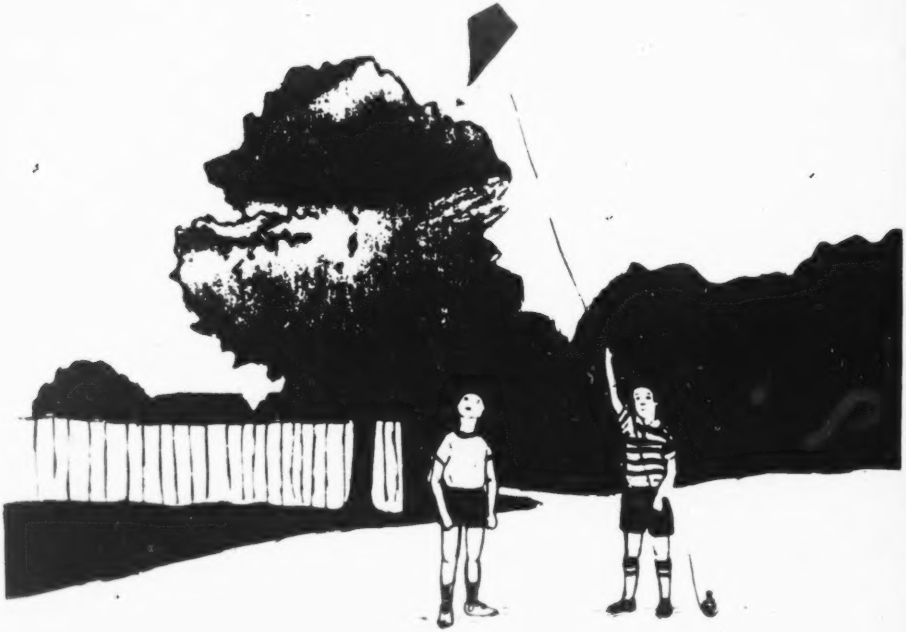


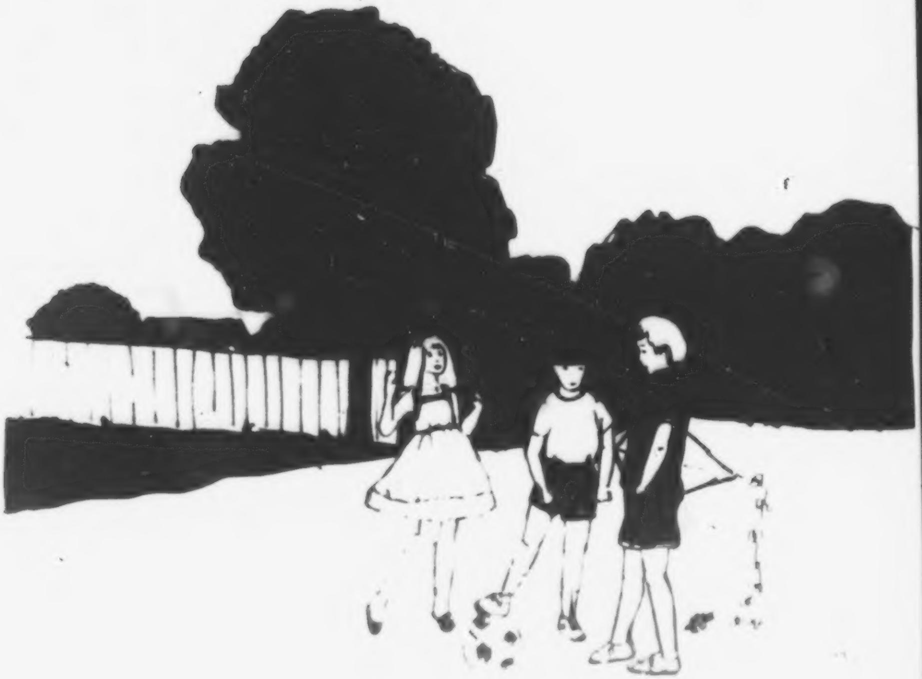
NA RINQUE DE PATINÂ

Un dia Isabel pedí sé pai:

— Nha pai, no podê bâ patinâ?
— Bó co quen?
— Mi co Miguel... Toni tambê crê bâ.
— E cumá nhos ta bâ rinque de patinâ?
— Nha pai podê lebano.

Isabel convencê sé pai.
Es combinâ bâ sábado de tarde.
Isabel ficâ muto contente.
El bâ contente frâ Miguel co Toni.
Toni co Miguel staba na quintal.
Es staba ta boâ papagaio.
Papagaio staba muto alto.





Miguel! Toni! No podê bâ rinque de patinâ es sábado!

— Undé que no ta bâ? — Toni co Miguel perguntâ.

— Rinque de patinâ...

— Rinque de patinâ? — Toni perguntâ.

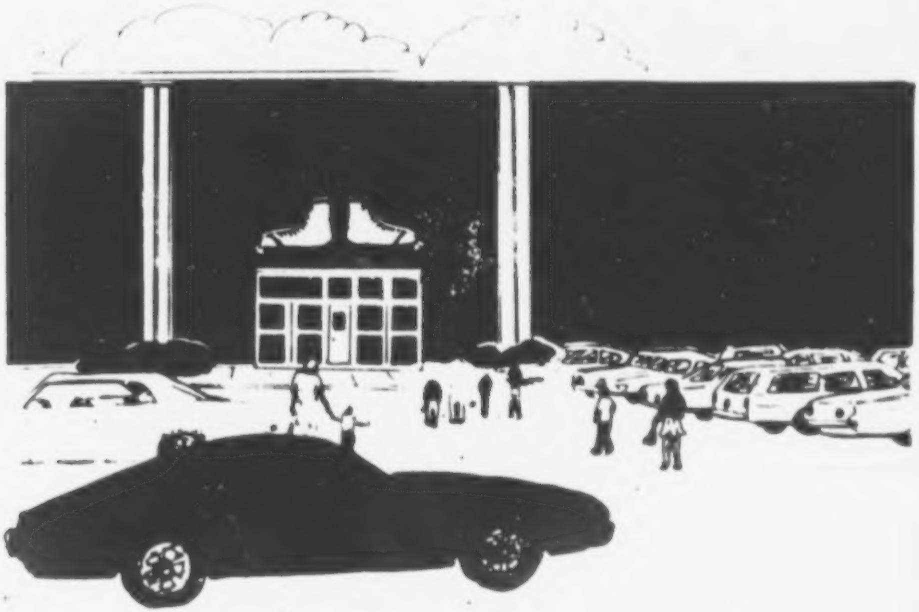
— Rinque de patinâ? — Miguel pergunta tambê.

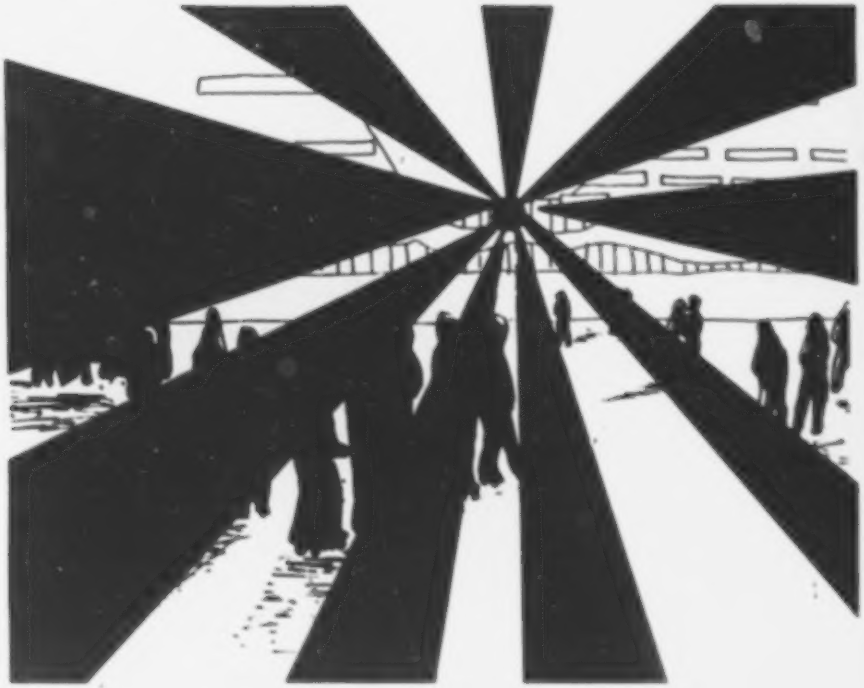
— Sin, no podê bâ sábado! — Isabel respondê.

— É londje! Toni frâ.

— Nha pai ta lebâno de carro.

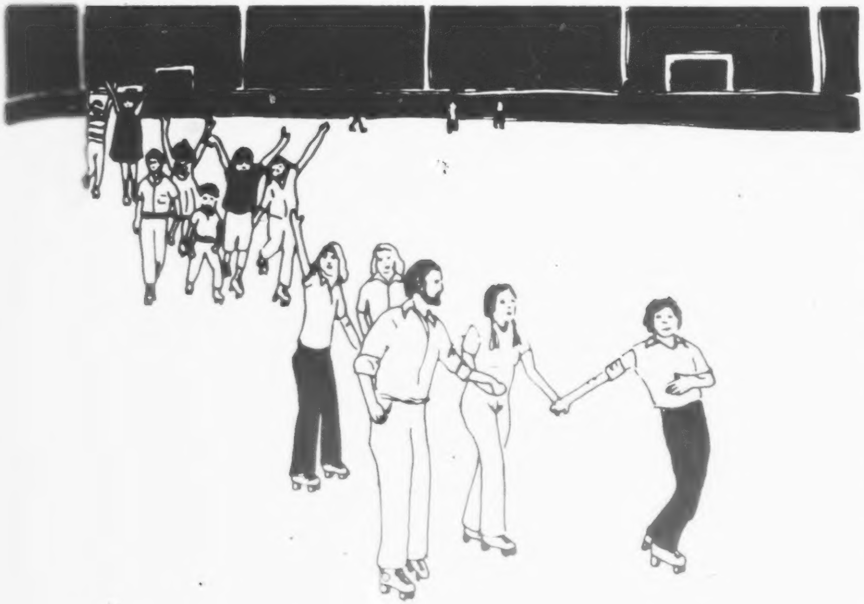
Tudo contente es entrâ na carro e es bâ.
Pai de Isabel parâ carro.
— Parcê'n que é li — el frâ.
— Ma no ca tenê patin! — Miguel crescentâ.
— Pai de Miguel frâ's: — es ta lugâ.
— Toni perguntâ: — Es ten patin que ta serbi'n?
— Es ten sin — Isabel frâ.
— Es ten tudo número — pai de Isabel frâ's.





Es entrâ dento de rinque de patinâ.
Es ficâ encantado co,tanto luz.
Tinha luz de tudo cor.
Tinha luz branco, marelo.
Oto era azul oto era bermedjo.
Inda oto verde co roxo.
Tanto luz de tanto cor¡

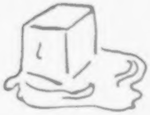
Tinha tcheu djente na rinque de patinâ.
Tcheu meniso ta corrê na mesmo direcçan.
Algun de's stâ andâ es só.
Oto de's stâ bâ na grupo.
Algun oto stâ bâ de pa diante.
Oto de's stâ bâ de pa traz.
Isabel, Toni e Miguel stâ bâ tudo djunto.
Pai de Isabel ficâ ta odjâ's patinâ.

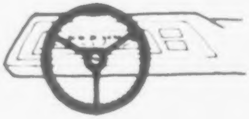


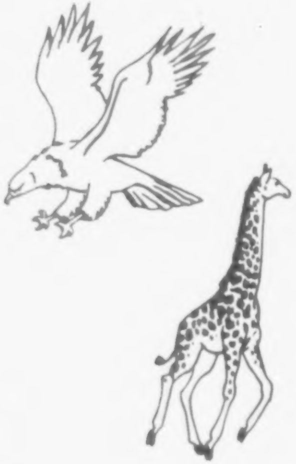
Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

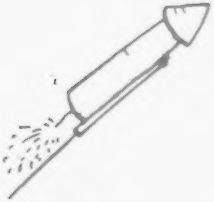
1. Undé que Isabel crê bâ sábado?
2. Cusé que pai de Isabel frâ'l?
3. Miguel co Toni crê bâ patinâ?
4. Quen que lebâ's?
5. Cumá que es ficâ canto que es tchegâ rinque de patinâ? Pamó?
6. Isabel, Toni e Miguel sabê andâ de patin?

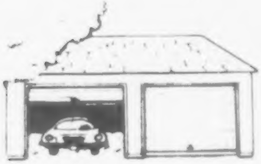
Cal é de's desenho que ten son /z/ e cal de's que ten son /ĵ/.



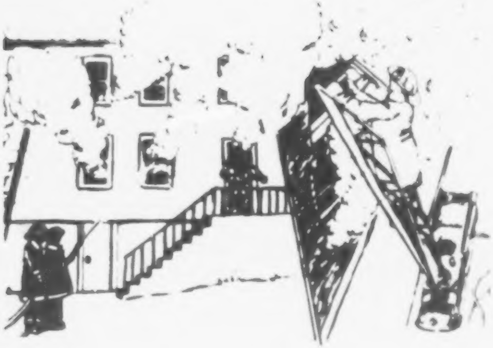




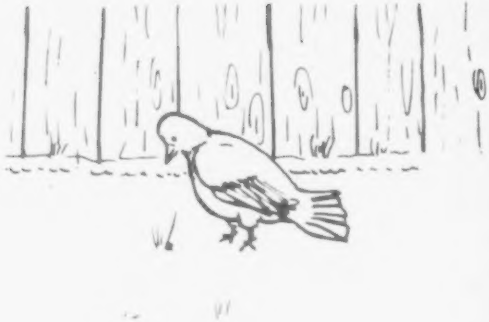




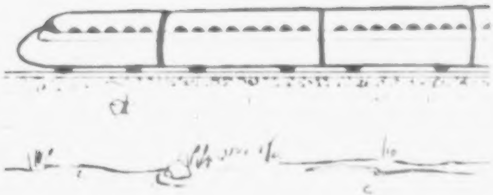
am, om.



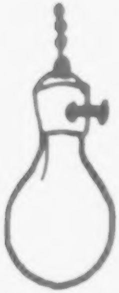
Bombero stâ pagâ lume.



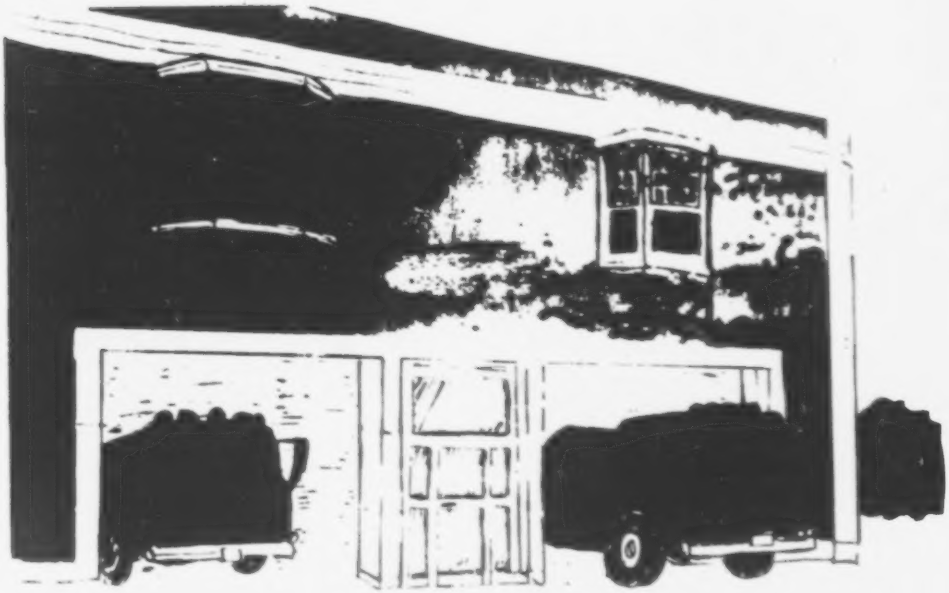
Pomba stâ comê na quintal.



Comboio stâ passâ.



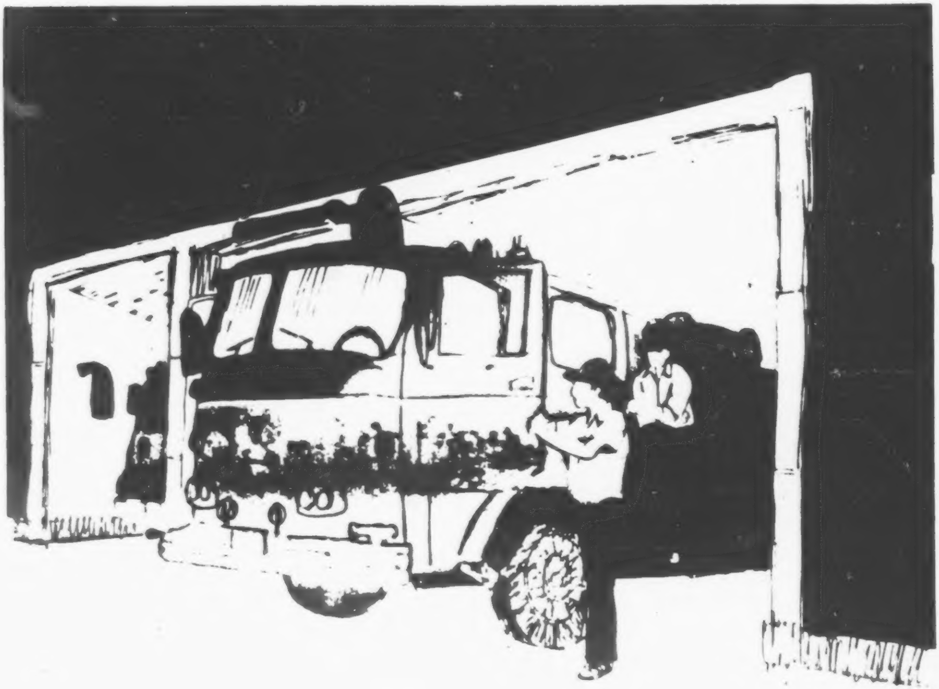
Lâmpada stâ cendedo.

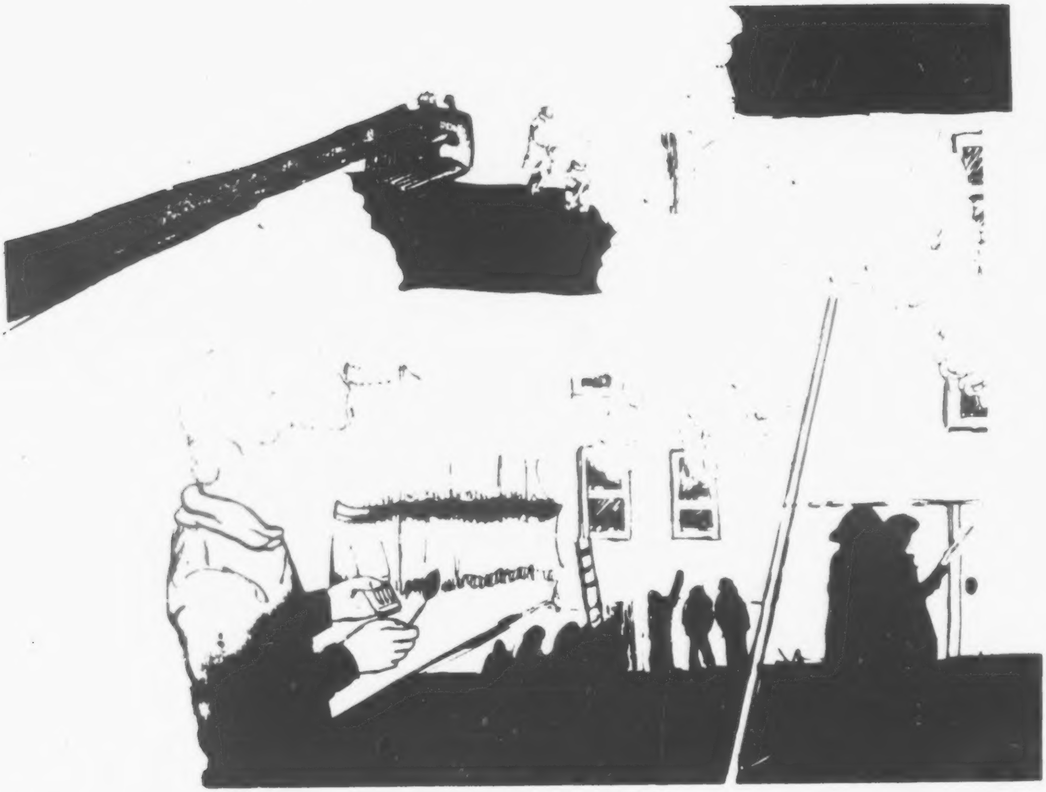


BOMBERO

Un dia, na caminho de scola Isabel frâ Miguel.
— Bo sabê, Miguel, manhá no ta bâ visitâ bomberos.
— Cumá bo sabê? — Miguel perguntâ.
— Nos professora que frâno — Isabel respondê.
— É londje de scola? Beto perguntâ.
— Nau, é perto, pamó é co pé que no ta bâ — Isabel frâ.

Quel oto dia na scola, professora frâ alunos:
Nhos stâ bâ visitâ bomberos. Cumá nhos stâ bâ co pé,
nhos ta bâ co muto cudado. Nhos ca ta sai de passeio.
To que nhos tchegâ la nhos reparâ dreto
pa tudo cusa que nhos odjâ. Nhos stâ ubí?
Es tudo frâ sin e es bâ tudo contente visitâ staçan de Bombero.





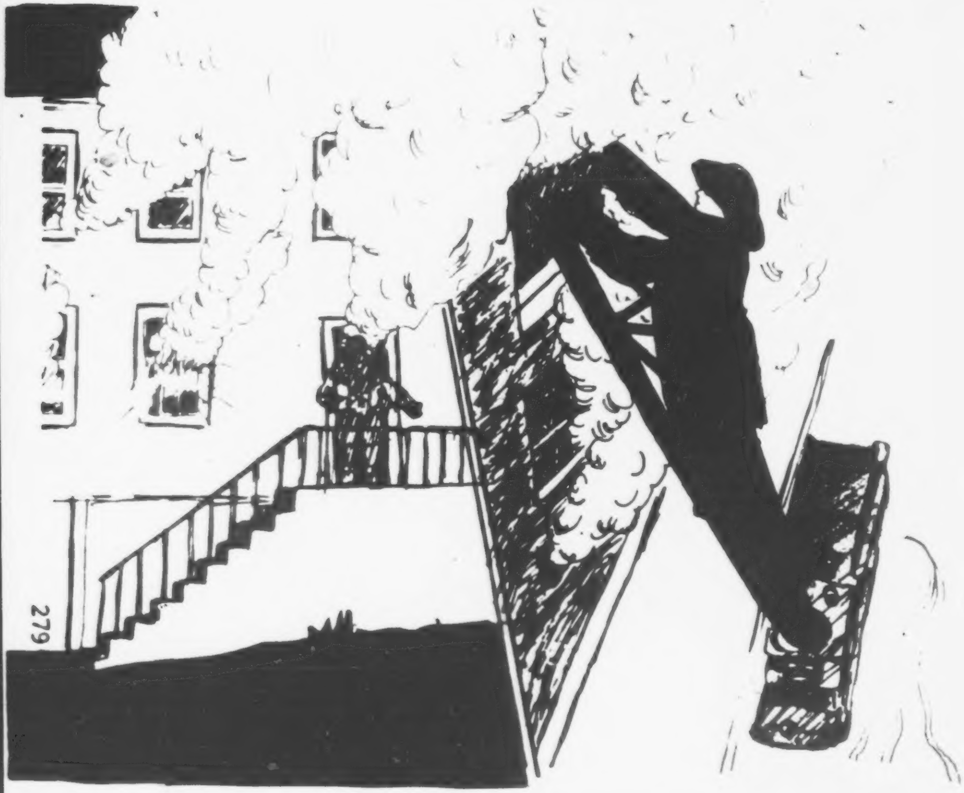
Depós que es voltâ pa scola, professora frâ's:

— Nhos stâ lembrâ de tudo cusa que nhos odjâ?

— Sin, senhora — es tudo respondê.

— Agó nhos pegâ nun lapis co papel e nhos desenhâ algun stória sobre bomberos.

Meniso pô ta desenhâ tudo contente.



Professora staba contente de manera cumá tudo meniso staba ta desenhâ. Miguel desenhâ un stória co dos cena: na un stâ un menino ta brincâ co frosfro, na segundo stâ bomberos ta pagâ lume.

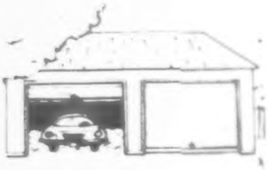
Isabel desenhâ un stória nun cena: dos bomberos stâ ta pagâ lume e un oto stâ tirâ un menina de un casa que stâ quemâ.

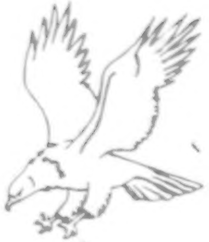
Beto desenhâ un carro co dos bombero, co un scada grande lebantado na ar.

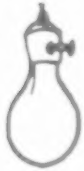
1. Undé que meniso de scola bâ?
2. Staçan de bombero ta ficâ londje de scola?
3. Pamó que professora frâ alunos pa es botâ cudado na tudo cusa que es odjâ?
4. Alunos gostâ de visitâ staçan de bombero?
5. Cusé que Miguel desenhâ?

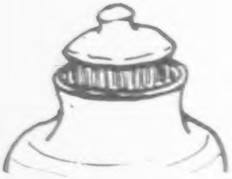
Scodjê:

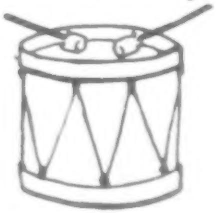
Cal é de's desenho que tem som /am/ o /om/

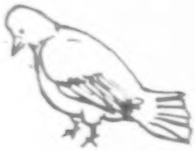




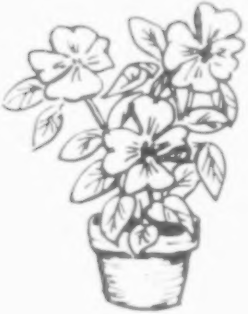




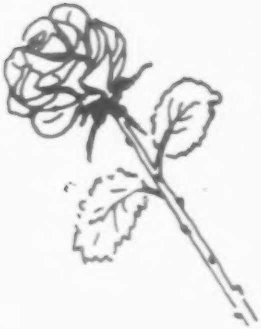




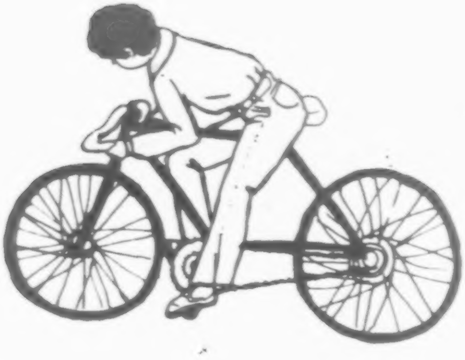
bl, gl, cl, pl, fl.



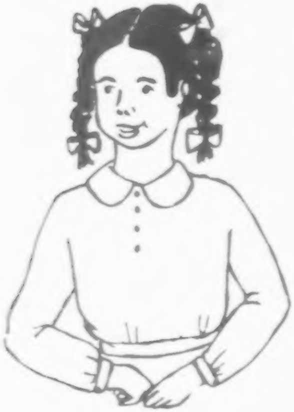
Planta dja **fl**ra.



Rosa é un **flor.**



Reto ta andâ de bicicleta

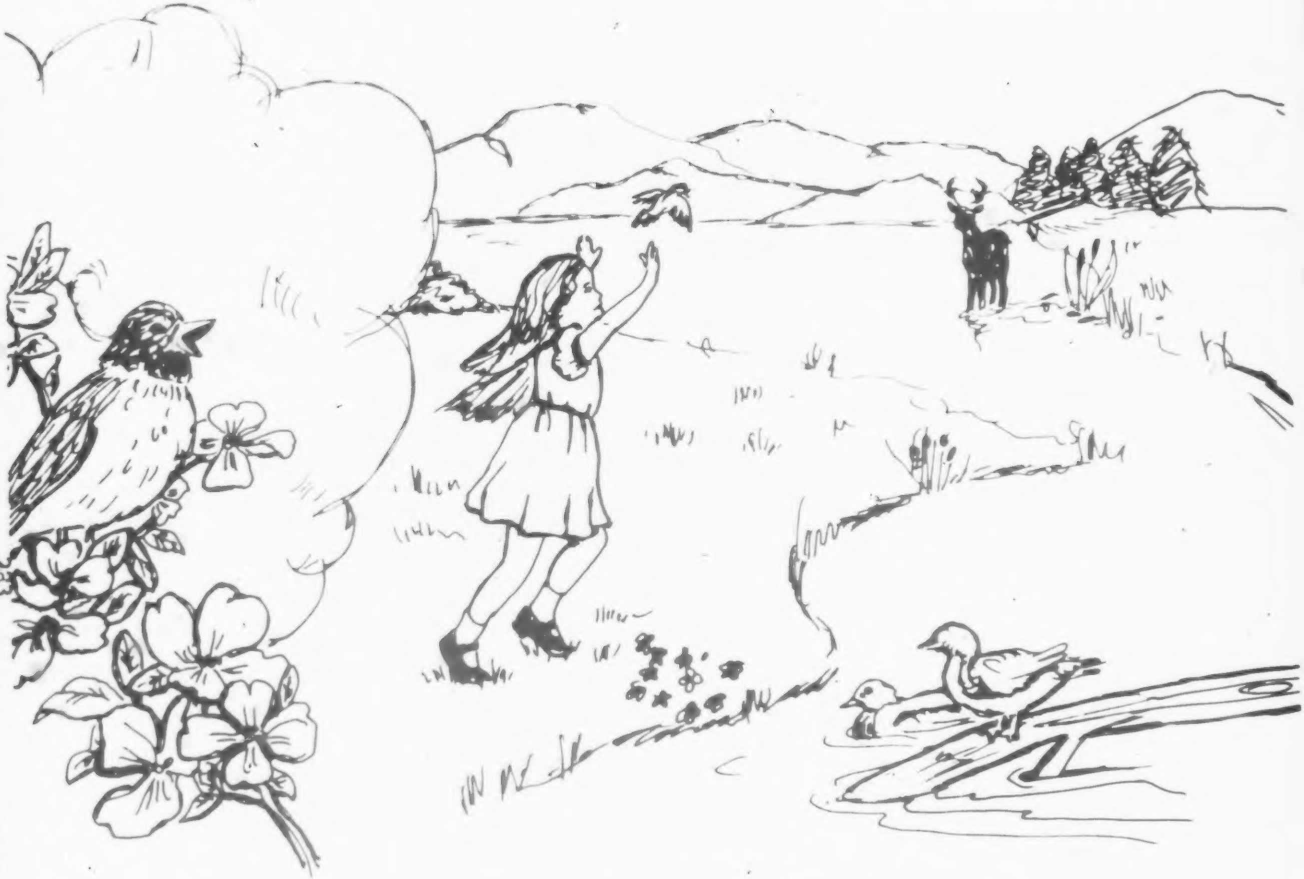


Tina tenê **bl**usa branco.

PRIMAVERA

É Primavera!...

Mundo dja scordâ
Dun profundo sono
Que desde Outono
El ben ta dormi.



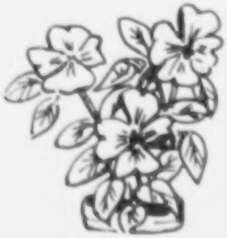
Meniso ta saltâ.
Passo ta cantâ.
Djente ta sorri.
Planta ta florâ.

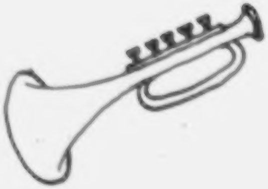
Sol sa ta lumiâ.
Padja ta necê
Ago ta corrê
Manso na rubera.

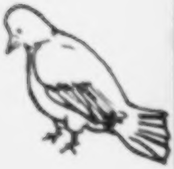
Respondê ques pergunta que ta segui:

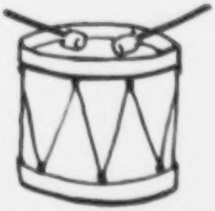
1. Pamó na Primavera tudo djente ta ficâ contente?
2. Pamó que ta frâ que mundo ta scordâ na Primavera?
3. Na Primavera cusé que planta ta fazê?
4. Na Primavera ta fazê sol, ta caí neve o ta fazê bento?

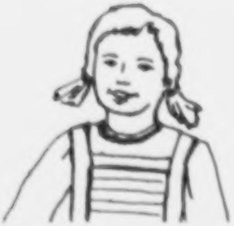
Cal é de's desenho que ten son /bl/, /cl/, /fl/.

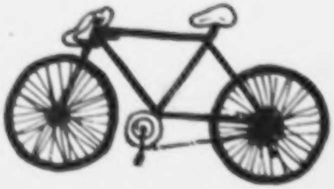




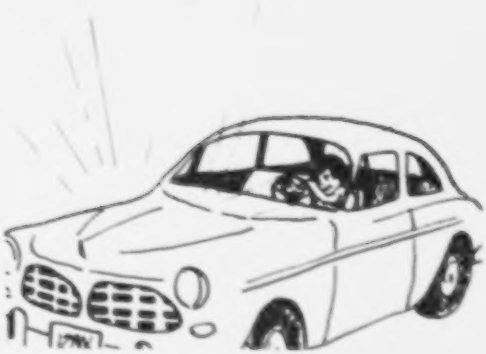




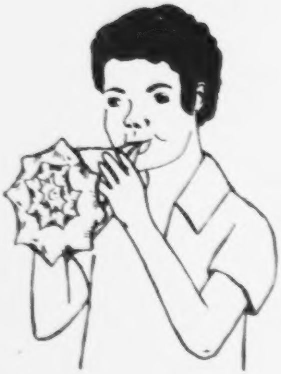




za, ze, zi, zo, zu.



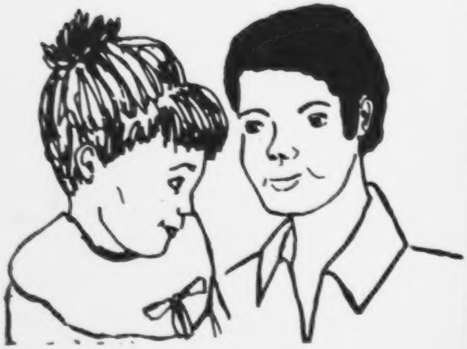
Carro stâ buzina.



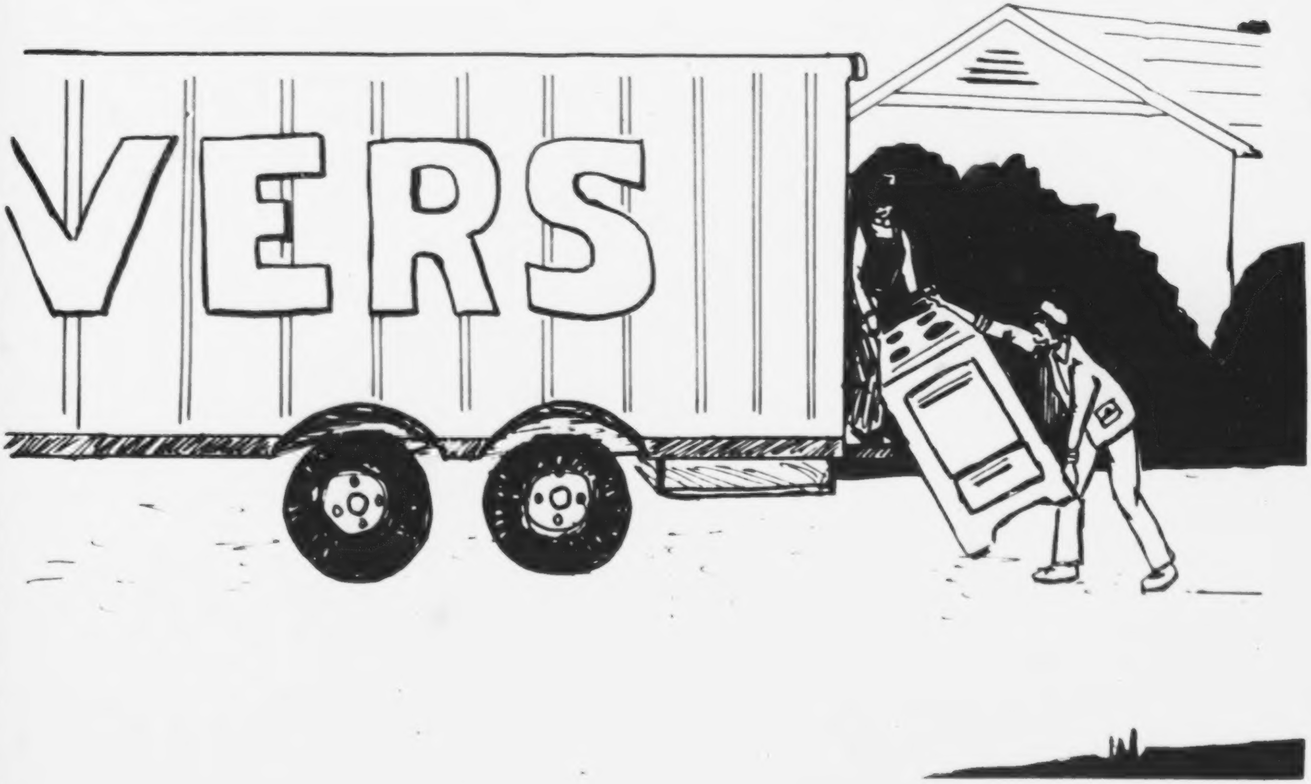
Zuca ten un búzio.

12

É numero doze.

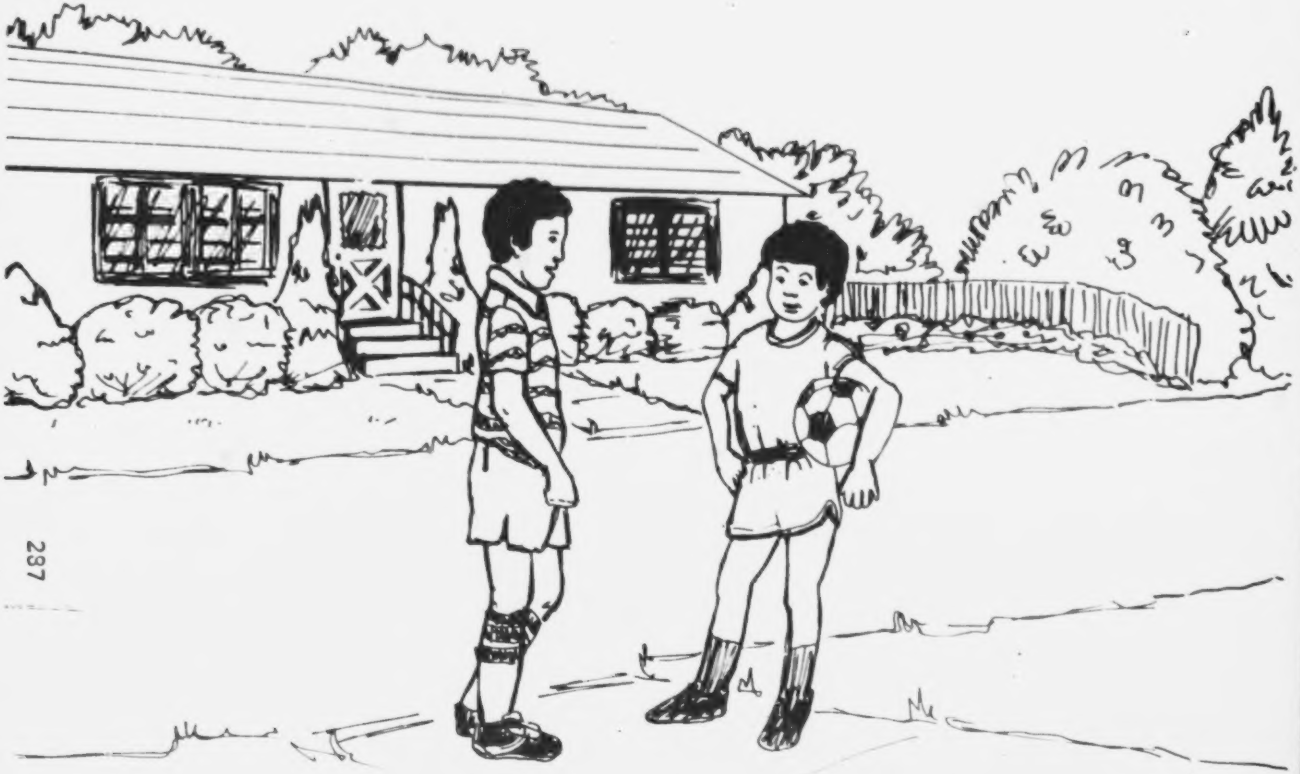


Ana co Zuca é nha bizinho.

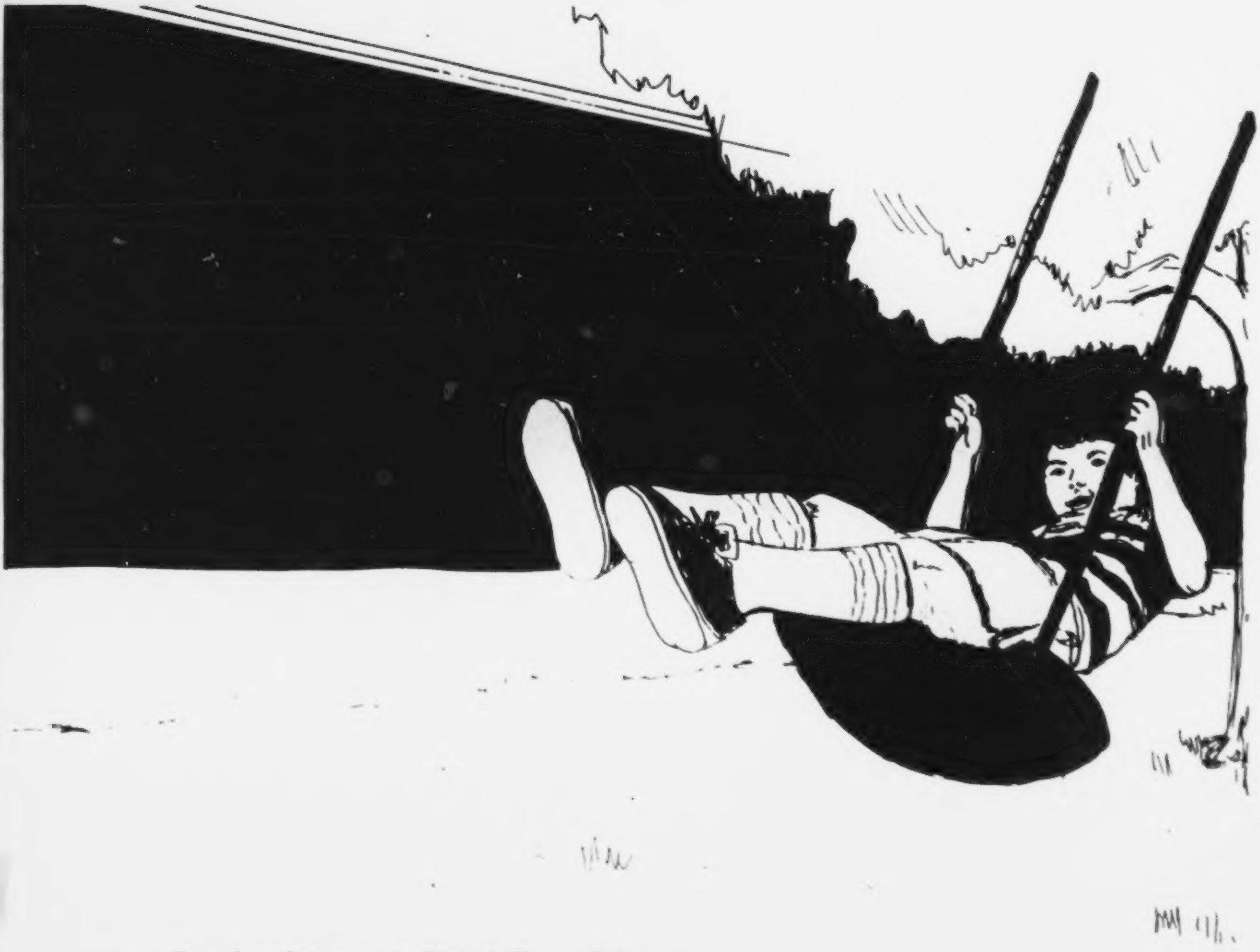


BIZINHOS NOBO

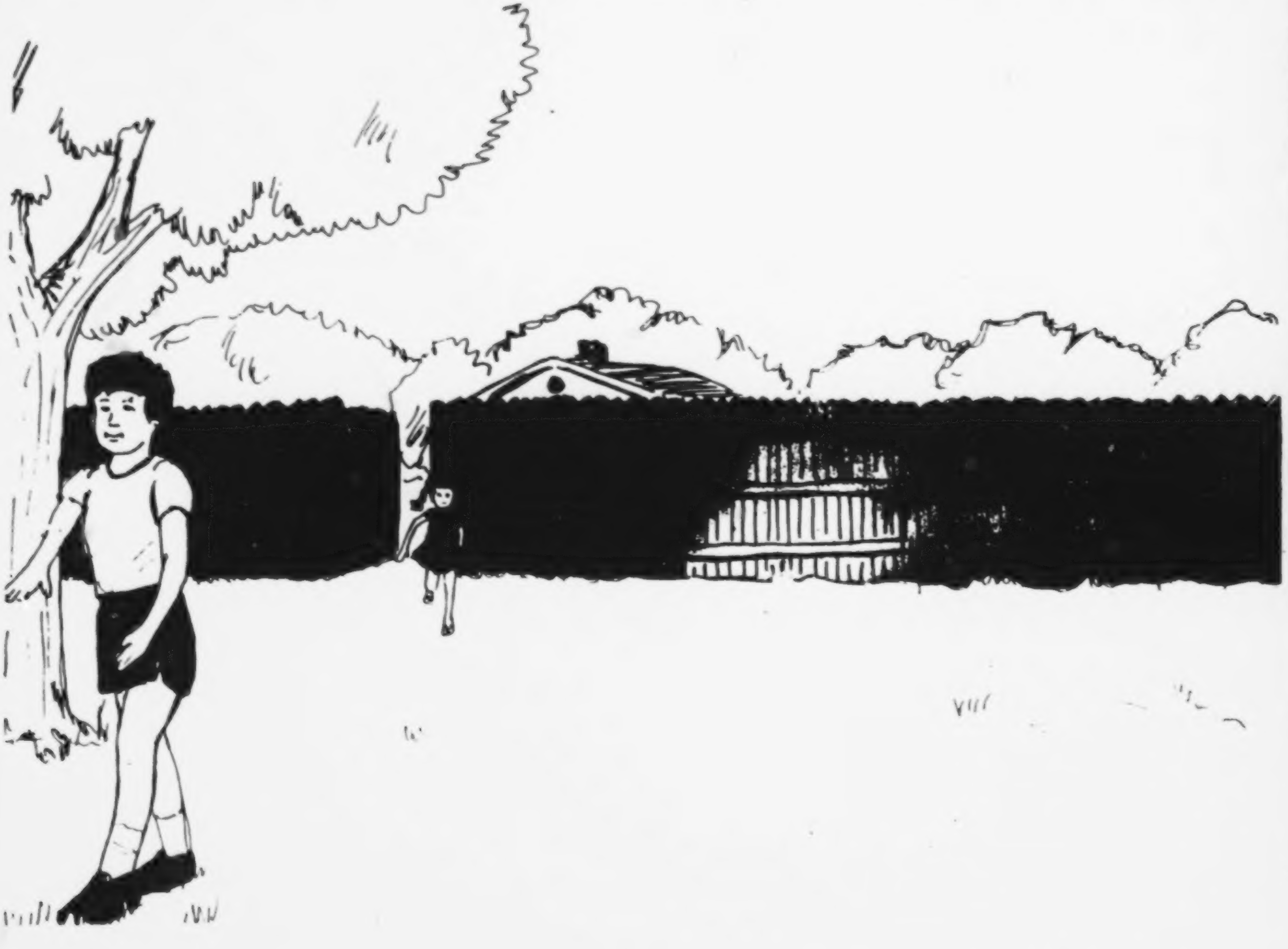
Dia stâ bonito. Sol stâ lumiâ.
Beto ubí carro ta buzinâ.
Beto saí pa el odjâ é cusé.
É oto bizinho que stâ mudâ pa casa de lado.
El ficâ contente canto el odjâ un menino de sé idade.



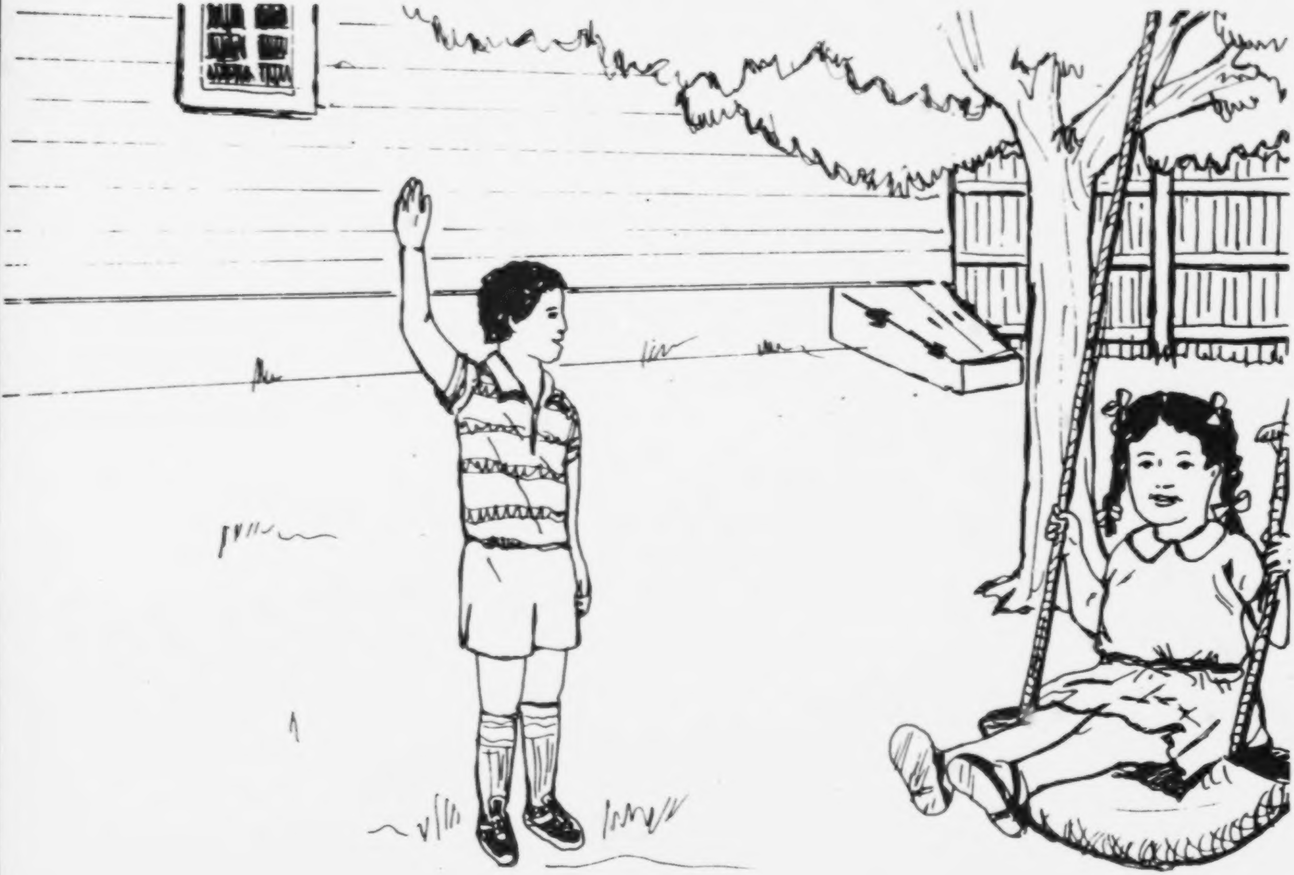
Beto frâ tudo contente: — un menino pa brincâ co mi!
Depós el bâ pa djunto de'l e el perguntâ'l:
— Cumá bo tchomâ?
— Nha nome é Zuca. E de bó?
— Mi'n tchomâ Beto.
— Zuca, bo crê ben odjâ nha remo?



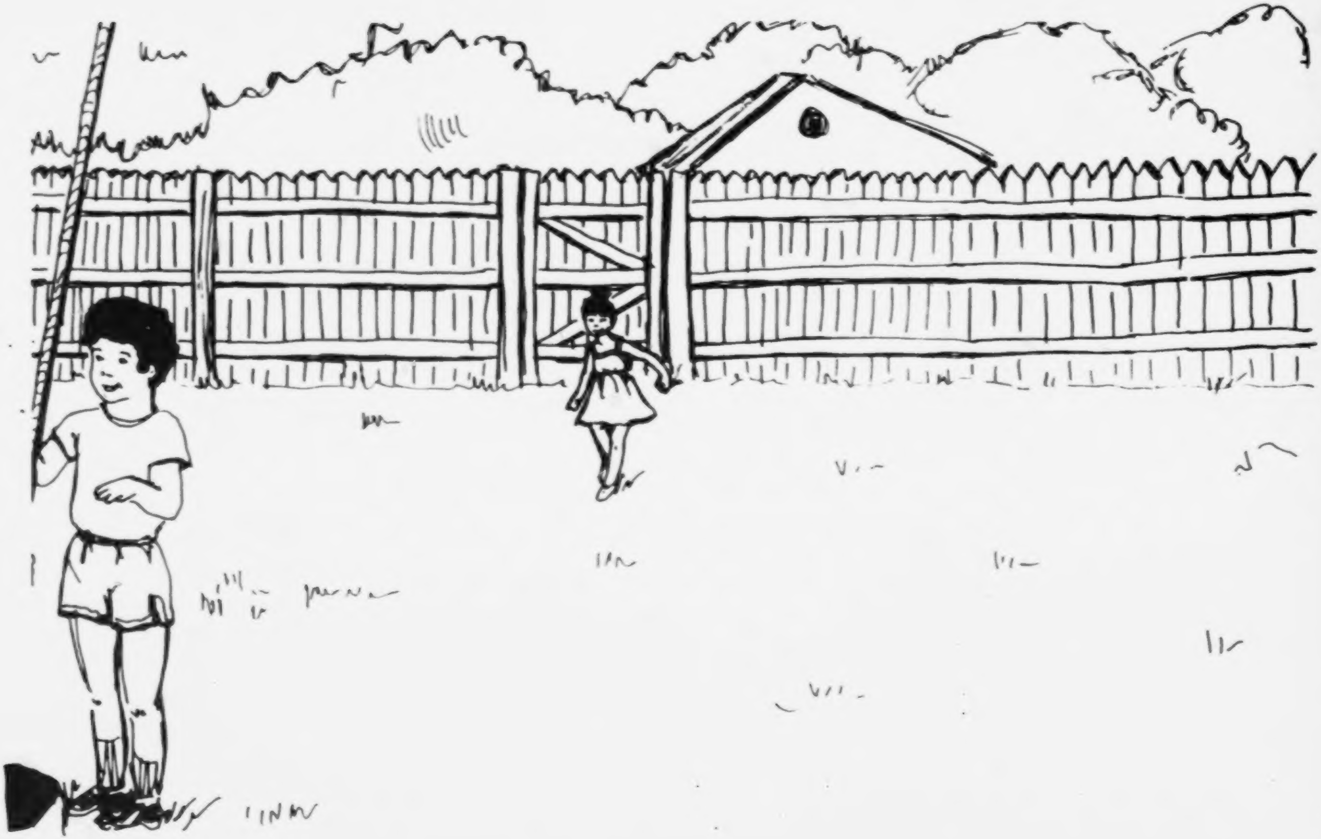
— Que bonito remo, Beto! Zuca frâ.
— É nha pai que pô'n el — Beto respondê.
— Ta parcê que 'n stâ boâ! — Zuca frâ.
— Bo stâ boâ cada bez mas alto — Beto respondê.
Que sabe! É mesmo sabe!



— É sabe, ma des bez dja tchegâ! — Zuca frâ.
— Ficâ mas un cusinha! Bo ten tempo! Beto frâ.
— Nau, nau,! Agó é bo bez — Zuca respondê.
Beto sentâ na remo e logo Tina tchegâ:



— Agó é nha bez. É nha bez!
— Stâ ben, Tina! — Beto respondê.
Beto sentâ Tina na remo.
— Tina, dja bo odjaba Zuca? Beto perguntâ'l.
Tina spiâ Zuca e el sorrí. Tina sorrí tambê.
— Bo crê bâ muto alto? — Beto perguntâ'l.
— Zuca, mai mestebo — Ana ben frâ [illegible].



— No ta bâ gossí, Ana — Zuca respondê.

— Ana, bo conchê ses meniso? Zuca perguntâ.

É Beto co Tina. Es é nos bizinho.

— Ana, bo crê remâ? — Beto perguntâ'l.

— Nau, gossí nau! Nos mai stâ tchomâno.

— Stâ dreto! Entan ta ser oto bez.

— Até logo.

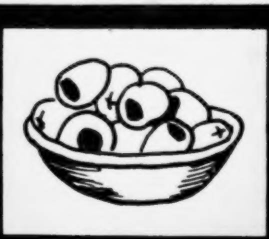
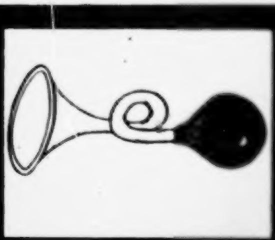
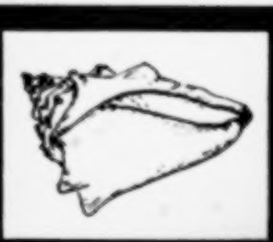
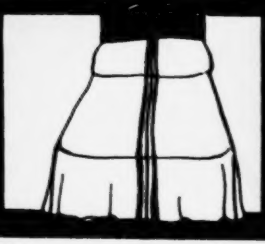
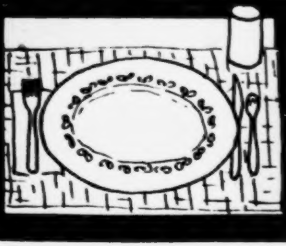
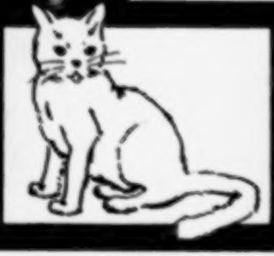
Pensâ:

Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

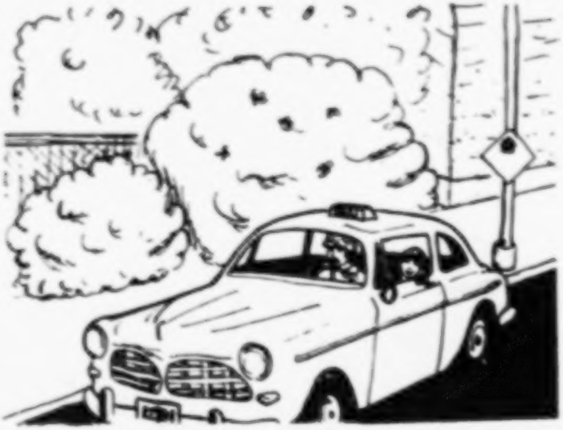
1. Beto ficâ contente co nobos bizinho? Pamó?
2. Cusé que Beto perguntâ Zuca?
3. Zuca gostâ de remo de Beto?
4. Cusé que Tina fazê canto el odjâ Zuca?
5. Cusé que Ana ben fazê djunto co es?

Scodjê:

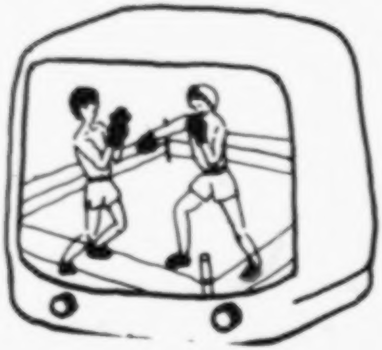
Cal é de's desenho que ten son /z/.

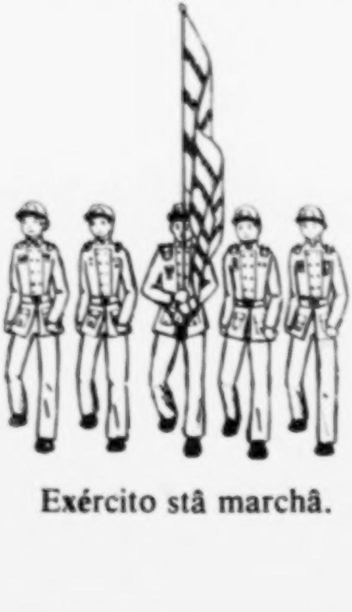
x — /s/, /z/, /s/, /cs/.



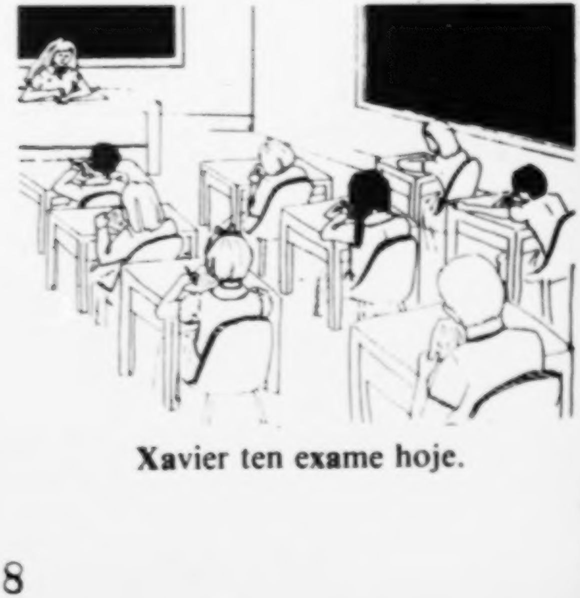
Xavier bâ scola de taxi.



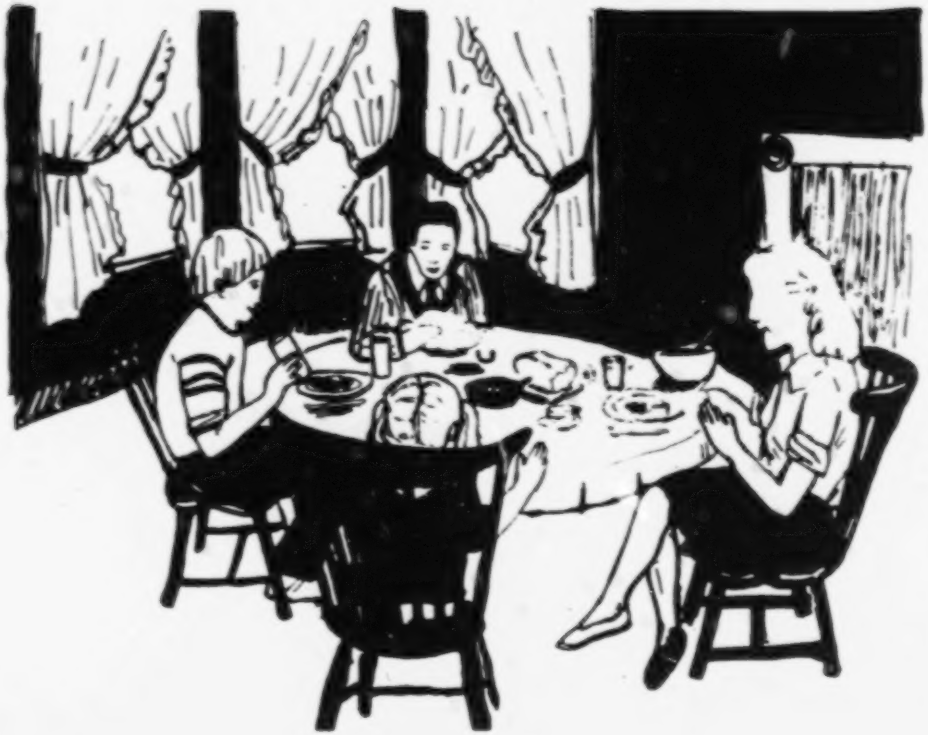
Hoje ten boxe na TV.



Exército stâ marchâ.



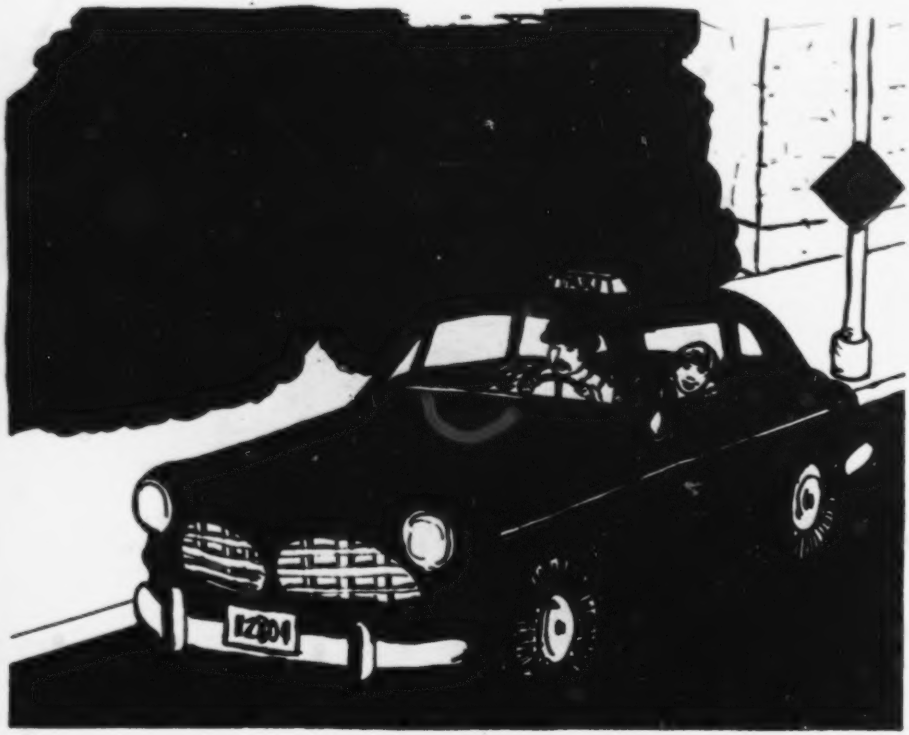
Xavier ten exame hoje.

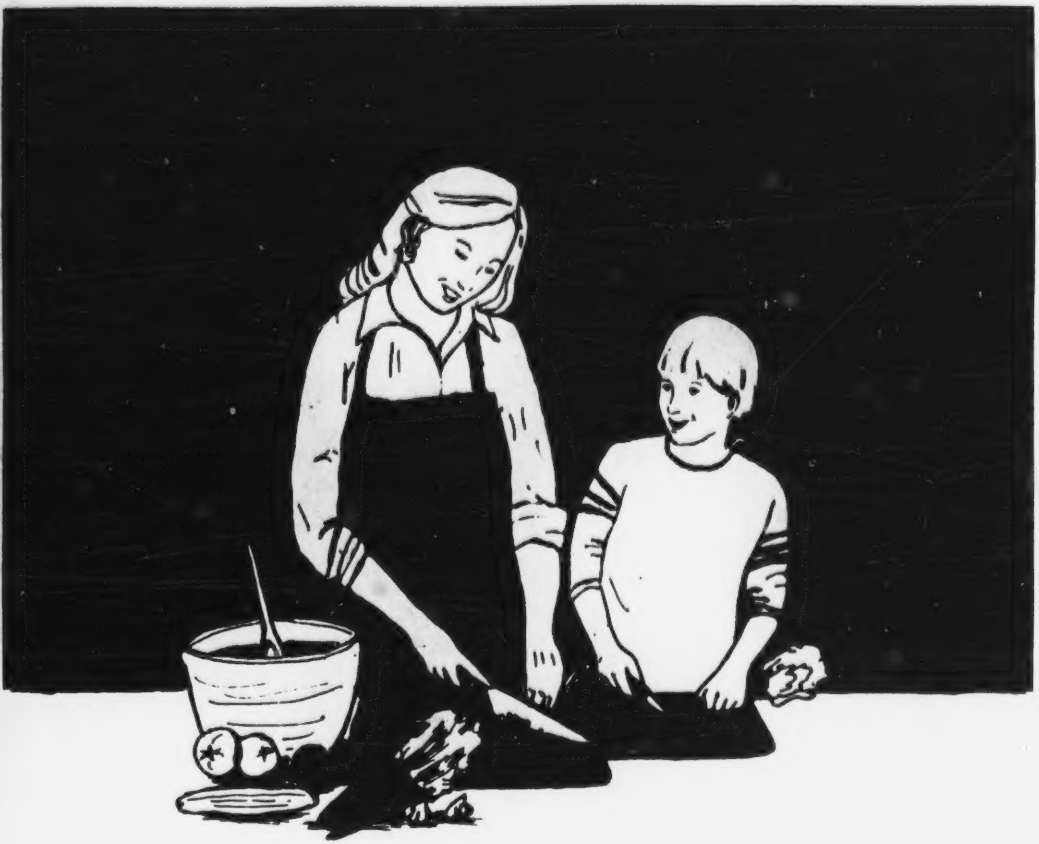


NHA FAMÍLIA

Xavier ten dez ano e el stâ na quinta classe. Es é quato pessoa na ses casa. É el, sé mai, sé pai, e un irman mas nobo. Sé irman ten sete ano e el ta tchoma Filomena. Mai de Xavier ta trabadjâ nun loja na cidade. Sé pai ta trabadjâ pa governo. Tudo dia de palmanhá ses pai ta lebâ's pa scola de carro.

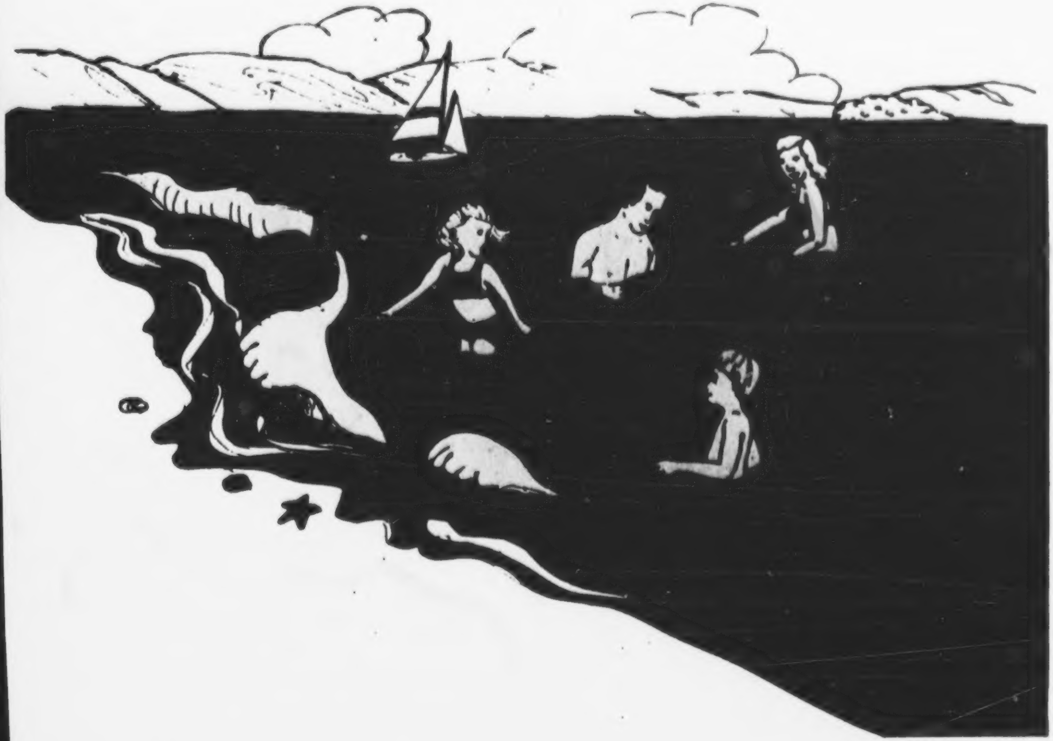
Xavier ten hoje un exame. Exame stâ marcado pa nove hora.
Xavier lebantâ tarde e sé pai ca lebâ'l scola.
Pa el tchegâ na tempo de exame el tan que tomâ un taxi.
Taxi tchegâ e Xavier staba pa fora ta sperâ.





Mai de Xavier depós que el ben de trabadjo el ta fazê djantâ.
Xavier co Filomena ta djudâ ses mai fazê comida.
To que ses pai tcegâ de trabadjo es tudo ta sentâ na mesa.
Na fin de djantâ es ta odjâ televisan.
Antes de detâ Xavier co Filomena ta fazê exercício de scola.

Sábado co domingo família de Xavier ta passâ na praia.
De palmanhá, logo que es tchegâ es ta tomâ un banho.
Depós de banho es ta djugâ bola na areia.
Na hora de meio dia es ta comê e es ta descansâ.
De tardinha antes de es bâ casa es ta tomâ mas un banho.



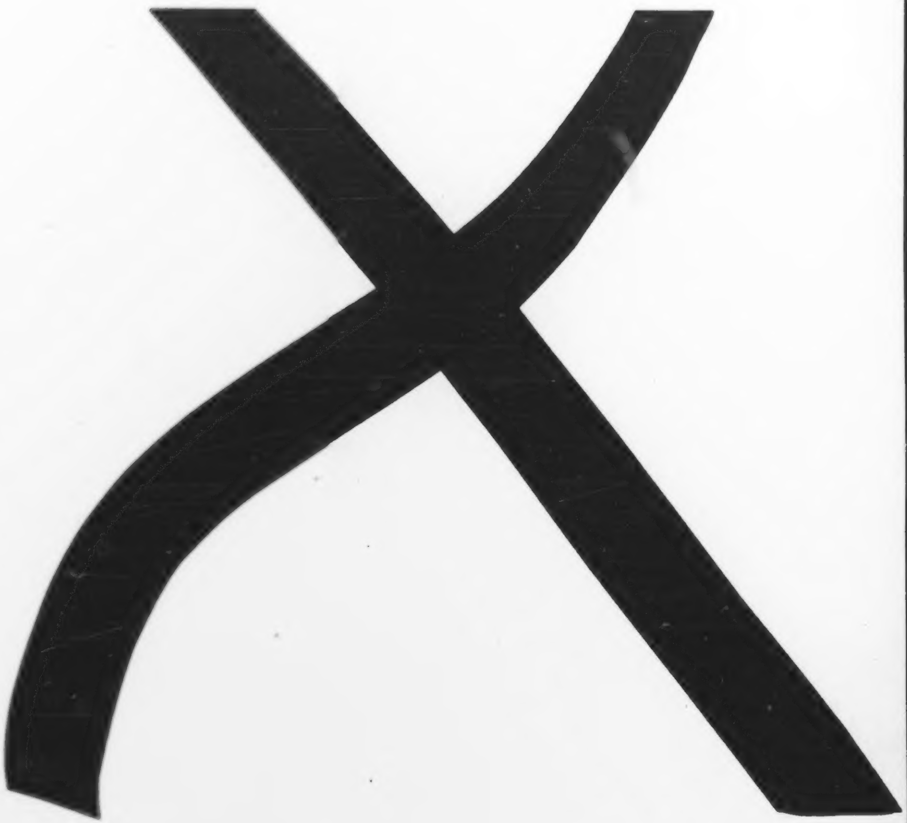
Pensâ:

Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

1. Canto pessoa ta morâ na casa de Xavier?
2. Quen que ta lebâ Xavier co Filomena scola?
3. Que hora que Xavier ten exame?
4. Hoje Xavier dormecê. Sé pai que lebâ'l scola. Cumá que Xavier bâ scola?
5. Cusé que Filomena co Xavier ta fazê antes de detâ?
6. Cusé que família de Xavier ta fazê na sábado co domingo.

Quen é mi?

Mi é letra complicado.
'N ta usado tcheu
E de tcheu manera.



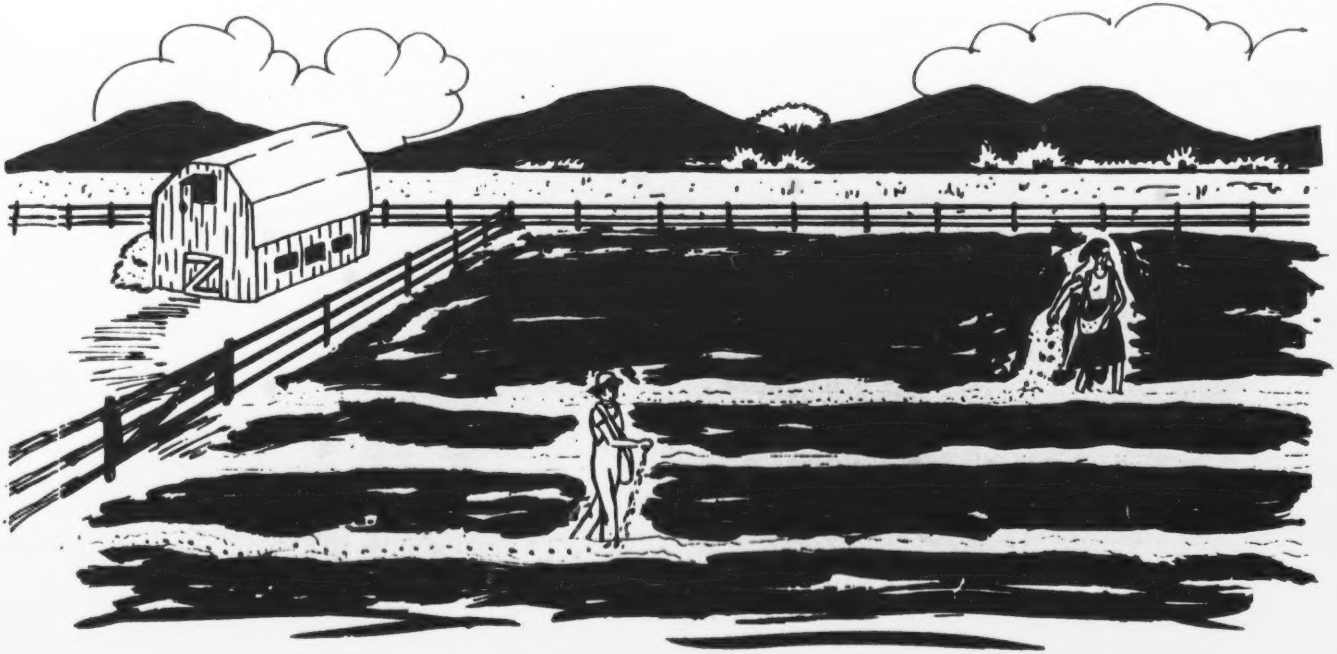
Na pexe mi é *ch*

Na taxi mi é *cs*

Na exame mi é *z*

Na próximo mi é *c*

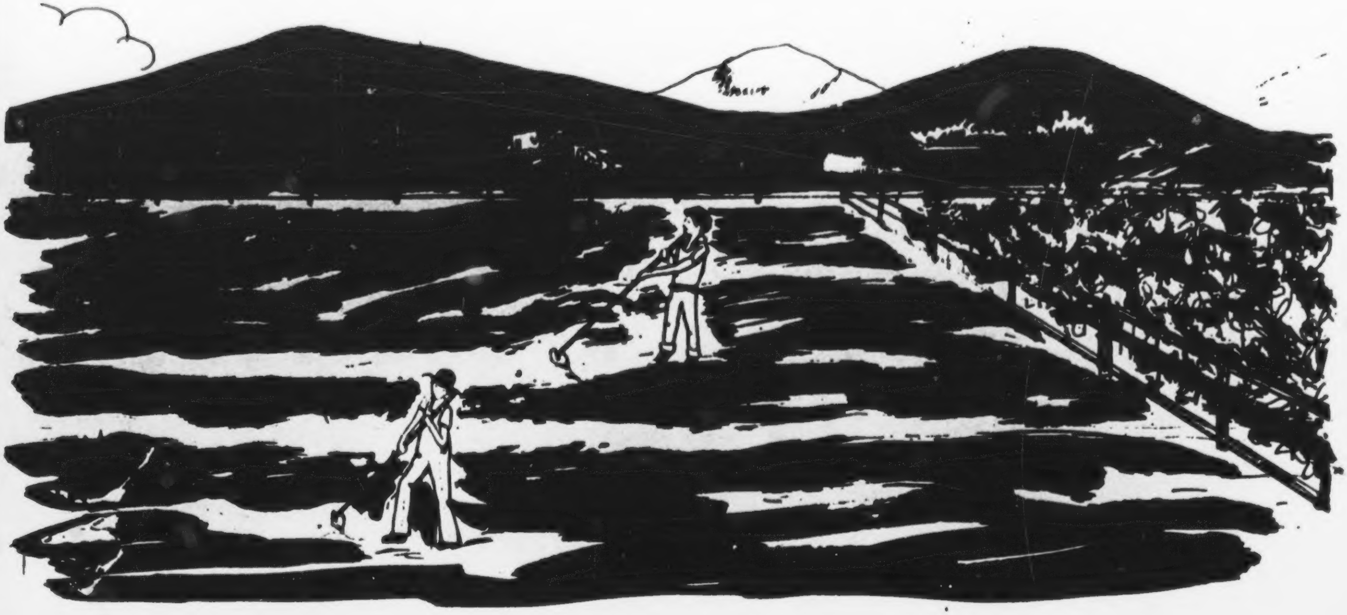
*Na s*exta mi é *s*



SEMENTERA

Palmanhá té note
Pobre trabadjador
Co enxada na mon
Ta cobâ co suor.

Semente ta caí
Na coba modjado
Rabenta saí
De terra cobado.

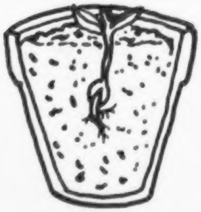


É rego de corda
É pé de fabinha
É midjo co flor
Na tchon Fontainha.

É burro biado
Ta ben Pabaçon
Co saco de midjo
E de mongolon.

Pensâ:

1. Cusé que ta contecê primero, depós e na último lugar.



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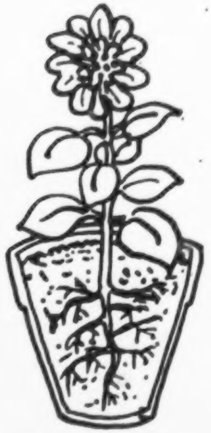

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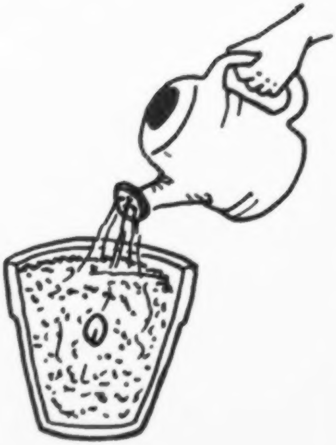


c

2. Scodjê palabra co sentido contrário de quel palabra que stâ más sucuro.

a. Trabadjador ta trabadjâ de **note**

as bez
de dia
sempre

b. **Pobre** tabadjador stâ cobâ co enxada

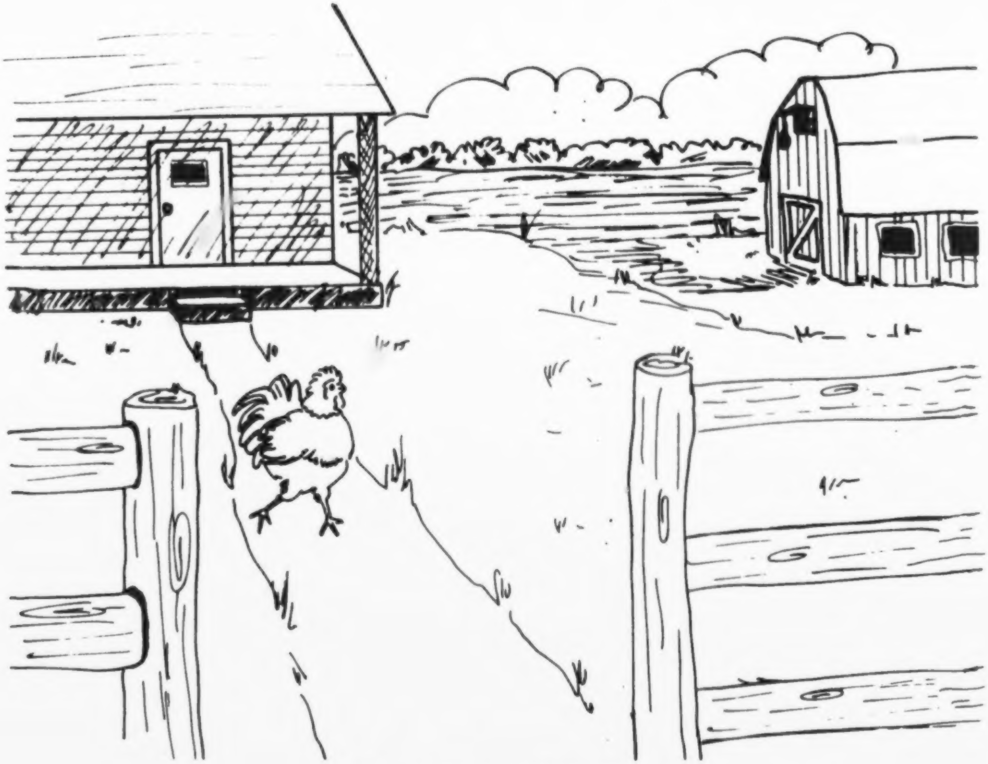
bon
feio
rico

c. Coba stâ **modjado.**

seco
húmido
aberto

d. Saco stâ **cheio**

streito
curto
alto



GALO VENTURERO

Era un bez un Galo que ta moraba co sé dono.

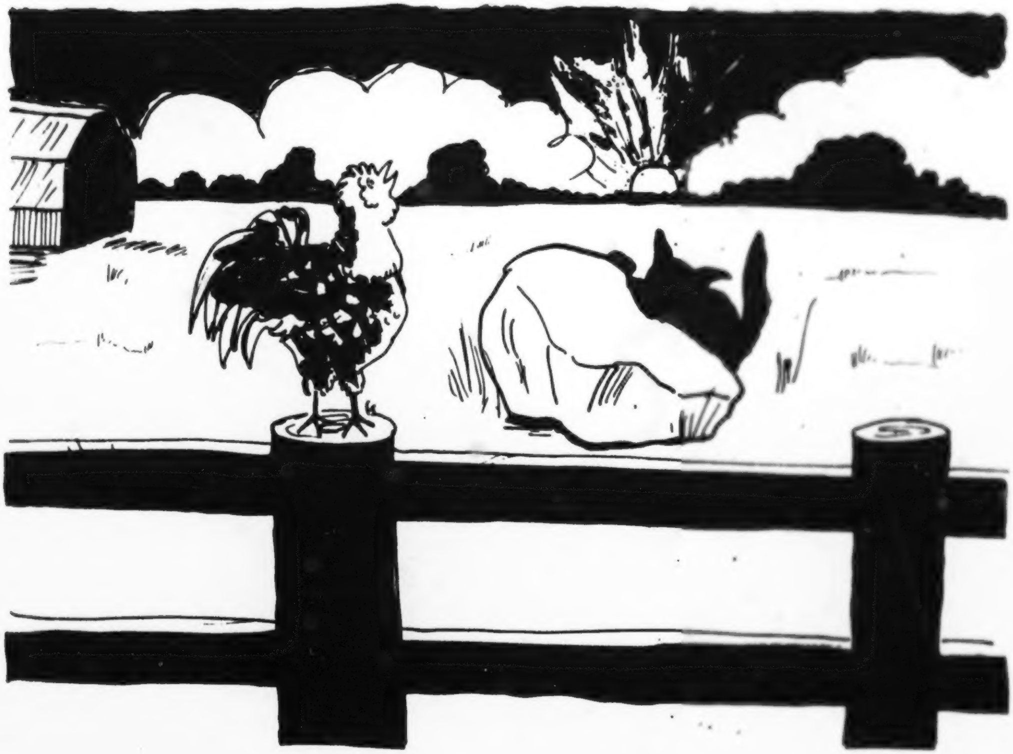
Certo dia el frâ: *Dixâ'n bâ passeâ mundo.* Na caminho el bâ ta cantâ: có-có-ró-có...El andâ..., andâ..., té quel tchegâ un terra londje. Depós de algun tempo el crê voltâ pa casa. Canto el staba ta ben el perdê na caminho. Cumá era de note e el staba cansado el detâ e el dormí. De madrugada, antes de terral riscâ el cantâ: có-có-ró-có. Nho Lobo que ta moraba perto undé que Galo staba, ubí'l cantâ e

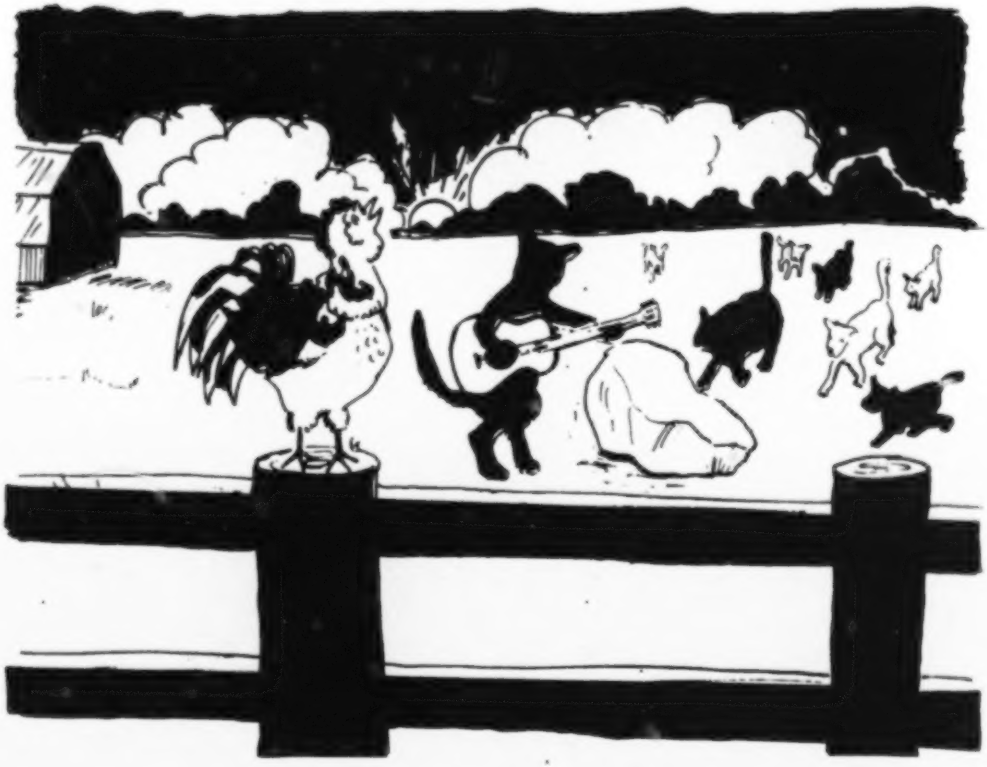
Canto Galo odjâ Nho Lobo, el fica sustado. El pensâ que Nho Lobo crê comê'l. Entan el frâ'l: — *Nho Lobo, 'n sabê que Nho crê comê'n. 'N crê pidí Nho un fabor: 'n ta gostaba de morrê contente.*

Nho Lobo, que crebâ fazê'l bontade frâ'l:

— *Cumá que bo crê morrê?*

— *'N ta gostaba de morrê ta badjâ.*



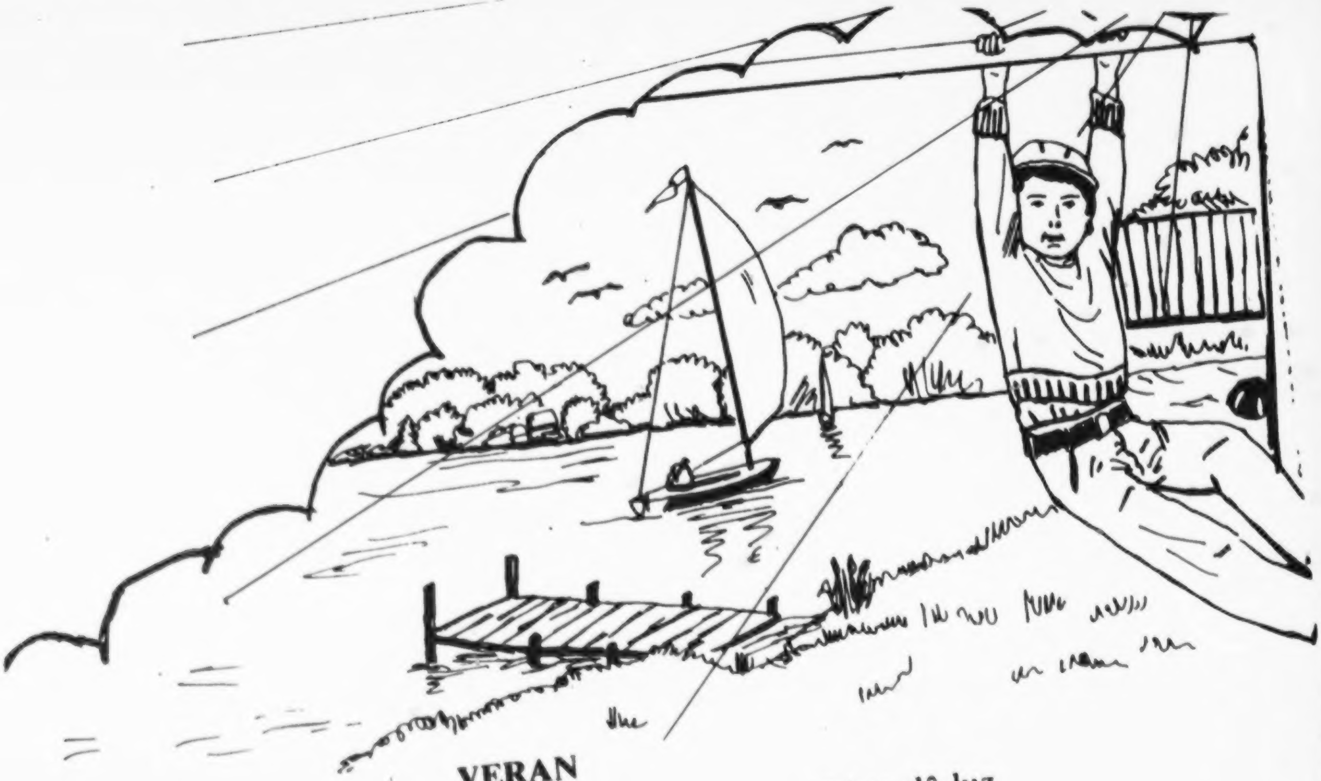


Nho Lobo pegâ nun viola e el pô ta tocâ e Galo pô ta badjâ. Na ques banda staba tcheu catchor ta gardâ tchon de midjo. Canto es ubí música es bâ spiâ cusé que stâ contecê. Entan, co medo de ques catchor, Nho Lobo fugí. E Galo pô ta cantâ: có-có-ró-có...e el bâ sé caminho tudo contente. E Nho Lobo nunca mas que odjâ'l té dia d'hoje.

Pensâ:

Respondê ques pergunta que ta seguí:

1. Pamó que Galo saí de casa de sé dono?
    - a. É pamó el staba sabe?
    - b. É pamó sé dono ta sotaba el?
    - c. É pamó el crê bâ conchê mundo?
2. Pamó que depós el crê voltaba casa?
    - a. É pamó el odjâ tudo cusa que el creba?
    - b. É pamó el sentí falta de casa de sé dono?
    - c. É pamó el ca gostâ cusa que el odjâ?
3. Quen que bâ atchâ Galo?
4. Djobê cusé que Galo frâ Nho Lobo e lê alto.
5. Cumá que Galo resolvê sé problema co Nho Lobo?
6. Es stória podê conteceba? Pamó?
7. Galo podê badjâ?
8. Nho Lobo podê tocâ viola?
9. Un catchor podê gardâ tchon de midjo?



VERAN

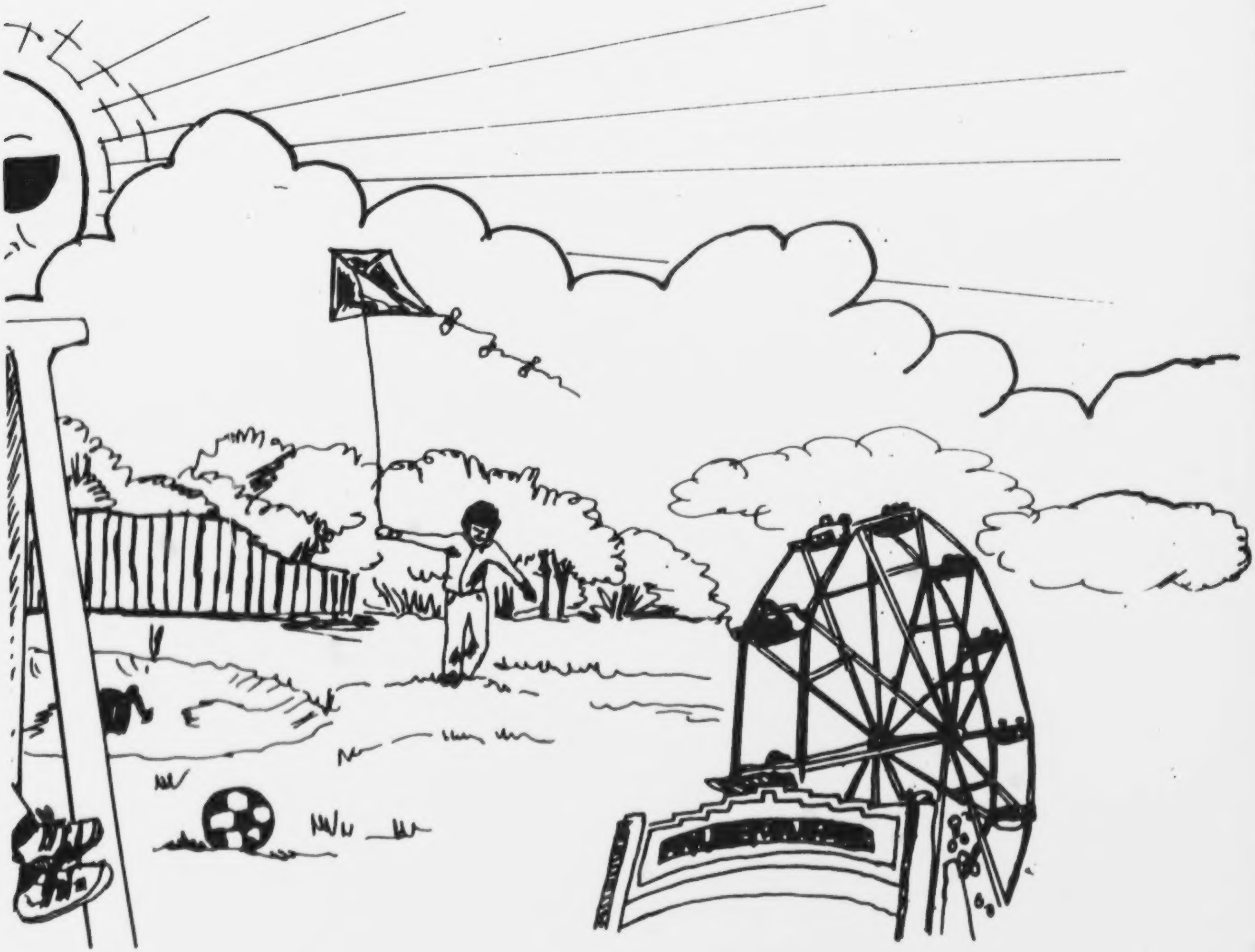
Es sol é grande
Es sol é quente
El é amigo
De tudo djente.

El ta dâ luz
Durante dia
Es sol é bon
É nos ligria.

Sol de Veran
Co sé calor
El ta quentâ
Nos coraçan.

Veran, calor,
Veran, brincâ,
Veran, amor,
Veran nadâ.

Nadâ na mar
Brincâ na areia
Andâ na ar
Passâ só sabe.



Sol de Veran
Co sé calor
El ta quentâ
Nos coraçan.

Veran, calor,
Veran, brincâ,
Veran, amor,
Veran nadâ.

Nadâ na mar
Brincâ na areia
Andâ na ar
Passâ só sabe.

Pensâ:

Respondê ques pergunta que ta segui:

1. Pamó que sol é amigo de tudo djente?
2. Pamó que Veran é sabe?
3. Cusé que bo ta bâ fazê na Veran?
4. Undé que bo ta gostâ de bâ na Veran?

Cabâ es stória

É tempo de Veran e Rita bâ passâ un semana co sé tio na Boston. Sé tio ta morâ na bera de mar...

Bo crê cabâ de contâ es stória?

7.0 GLOSSARIO

ADEUS	Good-bye
AFRONTA	Affront; disgrace
AGU	Water
AGUDIODJO	Tears
AMBITSPRATE	Both parts
AMBUSDOS	Both
AMBUSTRES	The three
ANDEJO	Wandering
ANCORETA	Small water barrel
ANCRA	Small barrel
ALMA	Soul; spirit
ARMAZEN	Warehouse
ALCADA	Adversity
ARÇÂ	To raise; to lift
ANÉ-DE-CNIQUINHA	Drought years
ANHA	You (feminine)
APRAZO	On time; in installments
AQUES	Those
AR-DE-TEMPE	Ill wind
AR-DE-TEMPE	Infinite
ARAAI	Giddyap!
ARVRE	Tree
ASONZE	Snack
AVÓ	Grandmother
AZETE	Oil
ARDURA	Ardor
BBBBB	
BÂ	Goes; Went. (3rd pers. sing.)
BADJÂ	To dance
BAI-bo-bem	Come and go.
BADIU	Inhabitant of Santiago.
BADJÂ	To dance
BAGINHA	Small string bean
BAJA	Green bean
BAJUNA	Green bean
BOM PARECER	Beautiful
BONAU	Not you
BONECA	Doll
BOQUERA	A sore in the mouth
BORDA	Dike
BASSORA	Broom
BRAÇÂ	To hug.
BRANCURA	Whiteness
BRASSADO	Burned; heated
BREBETCHÂ	To be involved in a fight
BENIMBAU	Berimban=African stringed rhythm instrument
BRABO	Ferocious; furious
BRUTO	Brute; coarse

BRUTALIDADE	Brutality; violence
BUSIL	Plug for (water) tanks
BATIZÂ	To baptize
BUFA	Intestinal gas
BURRICE	Stupidity
BUZADO	Bold

CCCCC

CATCHOR	Dog
CABÂ E CABADURA	To finish
CABEÇA DE CASAL	Parents or married couple
CABEÇA DE CARTA	Heading of a letter
CABELO CUZCUZ	Frizzy hair
CABACO	Virginity
CACA	Snuff
CACAREL	Giant man
CADAVRA	Cadaver
CADERA	Chair; hips
CAÎ NA BIDA	To become a prostitute
CALACÂ	
CALÉ	Which one
CALEMA	Warm sea breeze
CALMA	Doldrums
CAMADA	Layer
CAMBÂ	To disappear
CONTICÊ	To occur; to happen
CANTIGUINHA	Short musical poem
CAMBRA	Cramp; chamber
CAMINHO	Road; journey
CAMOCA	Flour of toasted corn
CANA	Sugar cane
CANADJA	Disgrace
CANCÃ	Snuff
CANCARA	Bed made of cane
CANHA	Left-handed
CANHOTO	Pipe
CAPELA D'ODJO	Fluid membrane of the eye.
CAPOTONA	Wrapped; disguised
CAPITAN FARELO	Child's game
CAPUCHA	Austere; wild fruit
CARA, CRA	Semi-nude
CARANGA	A character in stories of regional folklore.
CARRANGADJÂ	To paralyze; to fonfuse
CARNARIA	Great quantity of meat
CAROTCHA	Pointed cap; hood
CARRAPICA	Type of thorny plant
CARNE	Meat
CARNERO	Lamb
CARRASCO	Intoxicated
CASTA	Caste; quality
CASTELO	Castle
CUSTUMADO	Accustomed
CATÂ	To search for

CATANA	Machete
CATCHASSON	Blow to the nape of the neck
CATCHADA	Great quantity
CATHORRONA	Spirit in the form of a giant dog
COTOTA	Vagina
CATRAFADA	Enough
CATREBA	Mass; rhythm instrument used in certain ceremonies
CATUMBA DE FOGO	Catacombs; hell
CAXA	Box; trunk; suitcase
CAXINHA	Small box
CAZILHA	
CUDÂ	To take care of
CUDÎ	To assist
CEU	Heaven; sky
CEGUERA	Blindness
CERIMONIA	Ceremony
CEMITERIO	Cemetary
CHRUTIN	Very quiet
CIENCIA	Science
CINTA	Belt
CINTO	Belt
CINTURA	Waist
CLABEDOTCHE	Wool covering
CALABASSA	Squash
CLAMAR	
COLAR NA PICO	Regional dance
CLAPADA	Blow
COLARAU	Paprika
COLADERA	Dance and song
CLICIRIA	Laziness of Cape Verde
CALIDADE	Quality
CLEMENTINA	
CRINIA	Mane
CLUTCHÊ	To gulp
CUMÁ	Like
CUMÁ BÓ	Like you
CUMÁ AREIA	Like the sand; enough
CUMÁ MI	Like me
CUMARUJO	Periwinkle
CUMO	How is it?
CUMADRE	Intimate friend
CUMERA	Ridge
CUMÁ ES	Like them
CU MI	With me
CUMODA	To accomodate
CUMODE	In what way?
CU NOS	With us.
CUNUMIA	Economy
CABO	Cape, place, site
COBARDO	Coward
CONHECIMENTO	Knowledge
COBRÂ	To collect, To charge (monetary)
CACO	Fragment, a drink
COCÂ	Seated; to lower oneself

COSSA	Blow; boundary
COFA	Hair net/wrap
COLÂ	To stick together, glue together
COLÂ-BOI	To sing to the oxen
COLÂ -NA-PICO	Regional dance
CALCO	Computation; calculation
COLEGAJA	Friend; colleague
COMA	Mane of a mule
COMESTE	Satisfied
COMPANHA	Company
CONA	Vagina
CONHECENSA	Acquaintance
CONHE	Dishonest gains
CONSOLANSA	Consolation
CONTRADIZIMENTO	Contradiction
COPIOSO	Abundant
CORDÂ	To wake up
CORESMA	Lent
CORENTA	Forty
CORRÊ	To run
COCO	Coconut
COSGA	Tickle
CUSA-RUM	Spirit
COSSA	To scratch
COSTARRIBA	River bank
COTCHÂ	To squeeze; to press
COTCHO	Trough
CAPADURA	Castration
CARAPELA	Blindfold
CAREVELA	Strips of the first leaves
CRICÊ	To grow
CRICENTÂ	To increase
CRICIMENTO	Increase, growth
CREDITADO	Accredited; believing; pretentious
CRUCIFIXO	Crucifix
CREM' DES PADE	Name of a prayer
CRUNCUNDA	Hunched; to be curved
CARANGUEJO	Crab
CRIAMENTO	Upbringing
CRICA	Vagina
CRIASSAN	Upbringing
CRIOLO FUNDO	The most primitive speech of Cape Verde
COROÂ	To till and terrace land
CRONHÂ	To immobilize
CROCO	Snail
CURASSAN	Heart
CARACOLADO	Rolled in a spiral
CROTCHA	Interweave
CRUMUTCHENTO	Rotten
CRUNTCHINHA	Child's game
CURRAL	Corral
CORRÊ	To help; to run

CURRESSAN	Correction
CORRUPTO	Corrupt
CUSÉ	What is it?
CUSITCHA	Little thing
CUSITCHITCHA	Crumb; little thing; little bit
CUSITCHITCHO	" " " " "
CUBA	Recipient for
CUBRI	To hide; to cover
CODJE	Spoon
CUERA	Covering for infants from waist to feet
CUDADO	Care
CULMICE	Culmination
CULMIDJO	Eye tooth
CUMPADRE	Intimate friend
CUMPRIMENTO	Length
CUMPRIBIDA	To exist
COMPODO	Composed of
CUMBINÂ	To combine
CONCHÊ	To know; be familiar with
CUNCLUTE	Spin
CUNFIADO	Daring
CUNJUGÂ	To conjugate; to adjust
CONCÔ	To knock at the door
CUNTINUÂ	To continue
CONTICÊ	To happen; occur
CAPITAN	Captain
CUSA!	Such a thing!
CUSCUZ	Cuscuz
CUTCHÎ MIDJO	To grind corn
CUNTIA	Quantity
CRUZADO	Old coin worth 4 tostoes
CUSON	Child's game using little stones
DACUADA	Angry
DÂ-DE-CORPO	To defecate
DÂ FE	To inform oneself
DALA	From over there
DANDA	Flour of stewed shark
DANINHO	That which causes damage
DA PERVARA	Judicial question
DATA	Date; enough
DICHÊ	To descend
DEBANGÂ	To fall
DICHIDA	Fall
DI COME	Food
DEC TE DE-DECTE BETE	A person with a speech impediment
DIDIA	By day
DEFENSA	Defense
DIFENSAN	Defense
DIFERENSA	Difference; injustice
DEFERENTE	Different
DIGUIA	To take seeds out of
DICRADADO	Exiled
DJANTÂ	To eat dinner
DIDJUNTO	Together

DIMUDÂ	To change; to move
D'EL	Of/from him
MANHÁ	In the morning
DIMOSTRA	Union; monstrosity
DINHERO MONCONGE	Old money without value
DIMASIADO	Besides; on the other hand
DIMANDADO	As an order
DRITURA	Straightness
DUEMIDERA	Sleepiness
DURMICÊ	To sleep
DURMI	To sleep
DEUS	God
DESDE	Since; from
DESARÂ	To wander
DISARADO	Unelegant
DISRRUMADO	Disorderly; messy
DISBANDERADO	Fearless
DISBOCADO	To drain out; to clear out
DISCADERADO	Crippled
DISCUNHECENSA	Ungratefulness
DISCUDADO	Insolent
DISARSTÂ	To isolate
DESINQUIETÂ	Restless
DIJESTAN	Digestion
DISTINSAN	Renouncing
DISLINDÂ	To clarify; to resolve
DECIMO	Tenth
DISMAREÂ	To recover from nausea
DISMINTÎ	To contradict
DISNOCÂ	To twist and break a joint
DISONRRÂ	To defame
DISPREZAMENTO	Disappearance
DISAFORADO	Insolently
DISAFORO	Insolent
DISPRESÂ	
DISPOS	After; afterwards
DISPRAJA	Pleasant; soothing
DISCONDE	Since when
DESDEQUE	Since
DISTRATÂ	To anull; to resolve
DISTROTCHADO	Torn apart
DISTRUIMENTO	Destruction
DISURIDO	Devastated
DISAVESSA	On the contrary
DITARDANSA	Delay
DIBINHÂ	To doubt
DITRIMINANSA	Determination
DISCUNSÂ	To peel
DITERMINÂ	To determine
DJAGACIDA	Regional dish of meat, corn, beans, and seasonings
DISGOTÂ	To make dull
DIASA	A long time ago
DIADIMINGO	Sunday
DIANTERA	The first part

DJONGA	Nap
DJONGÔ	To nod in sleepiness
DILETÂ	To cause pleasure
DIMORA	Delay
DIMUDÂ	To modify
DIMISTRADOR	Administrator
DIMANDADO	Expressedly
DIMUNDO	Of the world; enough
DROGADO	Drugged
DUNDE	Where is - from? Where is it?
DONDERA	What was it from?
D'ORA	From now on
DOS	Two
DOS TANTO	Double
DURÂ	To last
DRINDANA	Big knife
DURMIDO	Asleep
DRETU	Correct
DATARIA	Great quantity
DUDIÇA	Craziness
DUDINHA	Crazy
DUIZA	Dozen
DUVIDA	Doubt
DIBINHADOR	Senseless
DIBINHA	Guess
DIZIMPARO	Abandonment
DIZIMPARADAMENTE	Abandonedly
DISGOSTO	Digestion
DIZURÎ	To abandon

EEEEE

EL	He
ENCALUCRADO	In a tight spot
ENTUENTE	Day before yesterday
ERA	Era
ES	They (masc., plur.)
ESCALÂ PEXE	To cut and salt fish
ES-Ê-QUE-ES	They are all the same
ESCANDONGODO	Bruised; beaton
ESCANGANHÂ	To open; to exhibit
ESCABELADO	With wild hair
ESCASCÂ	To peel
ESCOCÔ	To take apart; to ruin
ESCOC	To speak a second language poorly
ESCOCÂ	To tear out plants from gardens
ESCODJA	Choice; partiality
ESCOTCHÂ	To break the tigh bone
ESCURICÊ	To grow dark; nightfall
ESCREPELODO	Scratched
ESCREFUNTCHÂ	To clean with a brush
ESCREFUNTCHENTE	Scrutinizer; curious
ESCREMELADO	Eyes wide open
ESCRIBIDO	Written
ESCRRANTCHÂ	To saddle

ESCUPLÎ	To flee
ESCUZIDO	Undone
ESFRANGANHA	Disarrange
ESFORSADO	Courageous
ESMAIÂ	To faint
ESMORCE	Lack of will
ESNOCÂ	To twist and break a joint
ESPECENÇIÂ	To become inpatient
ESPCENTÂ	" " " "
ESPDÎ	To say goodbye
ESPENHANGUERA	Thorn bush
ESPRAJÂ	To distract
ESPTCHÂ	To pierce
ES MUDJER	That woman
ES ORA	This hour; on the spot
ESTAPOR	Stupor; person with bad qualities
ESTAMBRINADO	Imprudent; violent
ESTABAQUERADO	Crazed; disrespectful
ESTERA	Wake
ESTORCÊ	To twist
ESTERCOLA	Intrigue
ESTERLOTÂ	To disarrange
ESTILODE	Elegant
ESTOTCHA	Torches; hell
ESTANGO	Stomach
ESTONÂ	To peel; to break
ESTOPETÂ	To shoot; to flee punishment
ESTORTEGÂ	To twist violently
ESTIRÂ	To stretch; to fall from the mouth
ESTRECOLADO	Hipocrit
ESTROFEGÂ	To traffic; to slaughter on animal
ESTROFEL	Agile; free from impediment
ESTROMPÂ	To break; to violate
ES OTO DIA	Day before yesterday

FFFFFF

FABINHA	Clitoris
FAZEBEZ	For example
FACHO	Tip; retribution
FASSURA	Ostentatiousness; distraction
FALSIA	Lie; falsify
FALSURA	Lie; falsify
FALUTCHO	Shuttle boat
FIMILIA	Family
FINCÂ	To persist; knife fight
FARMACIA	Pharmacy
FARRIPA	Impertinence
FATIÂ	To isolate; to separate
FATIGA	Slice
FEMIA	Feminine
FEMIAL	Front opening of pants
FEPU	Totally
FURMINGA	Ant
FERRENTCHO	Roaster

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FURTÂ-VOLTA	To deceive; to steal
FERRADO	Acidic; salty; lined with steel
FATAL	Fetal; fatal; poison
FETO	Made; done; act
FAZÊ	To make; to do
FUGÎ	To flee
FIÂ	To back; to confie
FIDJADA	Goddaughter
FIGA	
FIGO	Fig
FINCADUEDJO	To kneel down
FEROZ	Fierce; violent
FURSURA	Ferocity
FUGITIVO	Effective; permanent
FLUXERÂ	Pulmonary congestion
FUNÎ	To make an obscene gesture; to disfure
FININHA	Lie
FOGAJA	Acne
FODJA	Sheet; leaf
FALSURA	Falsify; deceit
FONTAINHA	Place on the Island of Santo Antao
FOLGE	Bellows
FORÇÂ	To force upon
FAROL	Lighthouse
FORNO	Oven
FOSSE	Match
FRANGANHA	A young chicken; disastrous
FREGÂ	To scrub
FURMOSA	Pretty; beautiful
FRANGIDO	Wrinkled
FRETCHÂ	To blind; to obfuscate
FRIEZA	Coldness
FRIGENOTE	Stew of pork innards
FRIURA	Coldness
FRACO	Weak; cowardly
FROXÂ CORPO	To relax the body; to defecate
FROXE DE JUIZO	Half crazy
FRUTA	Fruit
FARRUJA	Rust
FITCHÂ	To close
FURRIÂ	To throw furiously; to free of
FURSULA	The large inner organs of an animal
FUSCO	Drunken
FUSCÂ	Drunkeness
FUSCÂ	To become drunk
FAZIMENTO	To copulate
FAZIDURA	To copulate

GGGGG

GALA	Sperm
GALFORRO	Glutton; perverse
GALUCHO	Inexperienced; stranger; teller of anecdotes

GANA	Desire; sperm
GANGA	Character of folk tale of Cape Verde
GARDICÊ	To thank
GARDICIMENTO	Thanks
GRAN	Clitoris
GARRUTCHÂ	To strangle; to squeeze
GASADJÂ	Lodging
GASTÂ	To spend
GATA	Drunkenness
GABÂ	To flatter
GENOCO	
GENOCA	
GINTIL	Heathen
GLITCHADA	Illegal game
GADANHÂ	To scratch; to climb
GADEME	To the devil!
GOGO	Phlegm
GOLOSO	Greedy
GOLPADA	Big blow
GONGO	Ghost
GORÂ	To guess; to foresee
GORENTÂ	To cast a spell
GOSGÂ	Tickling
GOSGUENTO	Ticklish
GOSTURDIA	Day before yesterday
GOMTORDIA	Several days ago
GUBERNO	Government
GRADA	Clamor
GRADAVEL	Pleasant; agreeable
GRANCETA	Vulva
GRANHÂ	To climb; to scratch
GRAVÂ	To aggregate; to offend
GRIGORIO	
GRILIDO	To stare
GOSSI	Right now
GASGANETE	Throat
GRAN	Testicle; grain
GROGO	Alcoholic drink
GAROTIA	Life of a young boy
GARROTCHÂ	To suffocate; to squeeze
GUDJA	Needle
GUETCHA	Veal
GOVERNANSA	Government

HHHHH

HERDÂ	To inherit
HERANSA	Inheritance
HERDAMENTE	The same thing; repeatedly
HERBA	Weed; tobacco leaf
HOME	Man
HOMON	Giant athlete
HONESTO	Honest; clean
HORA-MINGUADO	The wrong time
HUAHI	Interjection of admiration

HUMILDADE	Humidity
HUUHI	Interjection of admiration
HUMILDOSO	Humble; poor

IIIII

IDJA	Island
ILHERGA	Flank
IMBIYO	Navel
IMBIRRA	Annoyance
IMBREBTCHI	To tangle in a fight
IMBRUDJO	Wrapping
IMPIDJÂ	Skin desease
IMPIOTÂ	To be suspended on a support; to be immobilized
IMPNHORA	
IMPOIODE	
IMPLEITADA	Piecework
IMPUSTURA	Vanity
INCARDIDO	Soiled
INCALISTRÂ	To jinx
INCARTÂ	To be at an impass
INCARODÓ	Soiled
INCALACRÂ	To put in a tight spot
INCOMODADO	Ill
INCOCÂ	To crouch
INCOMODO	Uncomfortable
INCORDUÂ	To put strings on a musical instrument.
INCORDUADURA	Group of strings of musical instrument.
INCRANGÂ	To paralyze; to disorient
INDAGORA	Even now
INDRESÂ	To address
INCRAPELA	To swell (the sea)
INCRISTIA	Famine; scarcity
INCRONHÂ	To hamper
INCRUADO	Hard; raw
INDOSSÂ	To sweeten
INFEITÂ	To decorate
INFERNÂ	To doom
INFESTIÂ	To bore; to annoy
INFESTIENTE	Unpleasant
INFIRÎ	To provoke; to infer
INFRONTADO	Affronted
INGUA	Obstruction of lymph nodes
INGANHA	Cob
INGRAN	Grain; testicles; clitoris

INGUISSÂ	To stunt
INGABÂ	To praise
INGENIO	Bad temper
INGULÎ	To swallow
INGORÂ	To cast a spell
INGOTCHÂ	To squeeze; to tighten
INGRUDÂ	To stick together
INGUERGONHO-DO	Shrunk
INGUNIASSAN	Anguish
INJARGADO	Poor; humble
INJUM	Fasting
INDJUTÛ	To reject
INLIADO	Bound
INROCÂ	To fence in; to put rocks into
INSINANÇA	Teaching
INTCHÊ	To fill
INTCHUÇÎ	To hurt with a spear; to infer
INTENTÂ	To intend; to tempt
INTENTASSAN	Temptation
INTERTIMENTO	Diversion
INTESÂ	To make tense; excitation
INTODJÂ	To annoy
INTODJO	Illusion
INTESTÂ	To confront
INTRESSADO	Stretched
INTRUJÂ	Deceit
INTUDJO	Debris
INTUI	Intuition; to understand
INVESIA	Bowl; pan
IN BEZ	Instead
INVIOZADO	Askew; awry
INXARTADO	Fertilized
INXALMO	Blanket covering or cushion
INXORÂ	To beach
IXACTIQUAL	Exactly
IXAME	Examination

JJJJJ

JAPONA	Overcoat
JATEZA	Annoyance; levity
JATO	Bothersome; timid
JATURA	Imbecility
JIGAJOGA	Unstable; indecisive
JONJE	Half crazy
JONJODO	Overwhelmed; crazed

KKKKK

KESQUE	Lie

LLLLL

LADERA	Incline
LASODIROPA	New clothes
LAJÂ	To lower
LAMBIQUE	Still
LAMBU	To tie to the back
LAMBUDO	Hunchbacked
LAMURA	Lamentation; whining
LANSÂ	To throw
LANSADO	Fearless
LANDOM	Child's game
LANTCHA	Motor boat
LAPSI	Pencil
LARODE	Cultivated
LATE	Lash
LATIGÂ	To contend; to work for a living
LAMBICÂ	To distill
LAMBUSÂ	To dirty
LEBANTADO	Rebellious
LEJÂ	To cripple
LEMBESCO	Glutton
LEMBICÂ	To distill
LUMIÂ	To illuminate
LUMINARIA	Small lantern; acidity
LENDISSO	Besides; in addition
LENDRA	Lice eggs
LERUNJA	Flattery
LEVIÂ	To relieve
LEVIANO	Frivolous
LIÂ	To bind
LIA-L	They tied him up
LIAÇA	Intrigue
LIADA	"
LICATRE	Pliers
LICRIM	Rosemary
LIN	Nest
LINDA	
LINDO	Pretty
LOSTO	Correct; rich man
LEMENHAR-DE-CASA	At the door
LUMIÂ	To alluminate
LUMINARIA	Small lantern; acidity
LONGA	To extend
LUÂ	To be moonstruck;
LUITRE	Mourning
LUTRE	"
LUZ-DE-FE	Satan

MMMMM

MANCONHENTE	Lazy
MANCONHA	Laziness to hobble
MAMAI	Mother

MAQUINA	Machine
MADIADO	Spotted
MALDITA	Bolit
MALFETO	Poorly done
MAL PARADO	Poorly accomodated; involved in risky business
MA-MI	With me
MANCONJO	False; old counterfeit money
MANDADERA	Authoritarian
MANDADO	Order
MANDUÇO	Small wooden cane
MANGRÂ	To rut
MANHÁ	Tomorrow
MANHÁ	Tomorrow
MANHANHA	Very old black grandmother
MANINHA	Sterile; barren
MANISGA	Game; hitting
MANOJO	Bundle of straw; handful
MAIPEXECADELA	Character in folktales
MAQUINADO	Damaged by the gears of a machine
MAQUERENSA	Ill wishes
MARELO	Yellow
MARGORADAMENTE	Bitterly
MAROTCHO	Stone boundary
MAROŞCA	Cord to tie up an animal
MARRÂ	To tie
MARRUMA	Protection; barn
MAS-GRANDE	Bigger; stronger
MAS PEQUININHO	Smaller
MAS MIOJOR	Better
MATÂ-CABEÇA	To commit suicide
MADRUCÊ	To mature
MADRUÇIDO	Mature
MAGINÂ	To imagine
MATERIA	Matter; pus
MALAMENTE	Poorly
MANENTE	Permanent
MANHENTÂ	To search for food in the house of another
MANTENHA	
MAU	Bad
MALGOS	Bitter
MARAULHA	Marvel
MARISCÂ	To hunt for shellfish
MASSISSO	Dense; hardened
MALCRIASSAN	Obscenity
MALCRIADO	Rude
MATERIA	Matter; pus
MANGOLON	Regional bean
MANHENTO	Greedy; defective
MANHUNGUDO	Wrinkled
MARIVILHENTE	Yellow; pale
MARGADJO	Insignificance; dark rodent
MARIÂ	To be nauseous
MARIAGE	Dizziness

MERIANA DE ROTCHA-PINTA	Character of folklore
MARIOLA	Shameless
MARME	Marble
MARRINHENTO	Stunted; weakened
MANCIPÂ	To emancipate
MATADURA	Wound on animal's back due to ropes or straps
MBTCHÂ	To stuff oneself with food
MEJME	Same; self
MELENGÂ	To soften
MELON	Melon
MELADO	Sticky
MEMORIA	Memory
MENTÂ	To remember; to pray for
MENZA	Table
MERCA	America; USA
MERGUDJÂ	To dive
MERLOTÂ	To wrinkle
MES	Same; month
MESQUINDADE	Miserliness
MESTÉ	Necessity
MESTENSA	Necessity
MESTOR	Impostor
MESTURIA	Presumption; false appearance
MERGUJÂ	To dive
METÊ	To insert; to challenge to fight
METÊ MON	To hurt with one's hand
METCHERO	Gossip
MEZIÂ	To hide; to become angry
MEZIADO	Hidden; criminal; perverse
MI	Me
MIDJO	Corn
MIDJOCUTCHIDO	Ground corn
MININA-DA-VIDA	Prostitute
MINTIRA	Lie
MIOJO INGRAN	Regional dish of green corn and seasonings
MIOJO LIADO	Roasted corn
MINGUADO	Bad time; warring
MIDJOR	Better
MINISO	Boys; children
MINCAE	I am not
MISSA	Mass
MISTURADO	Mixed
MI-SO	I alone
MIRANTE	Specator; pole decorated with branches for the church
MLAGRENTE	Miraculous; one who exaggerates suffering or emotions
MOIDO	Ground
MONHINHA	Crumbs; remains
MON	Hand
MOSSÂ	To copulate
MOFO	Mold
MOFURA	Moldy

MOSSO	Young boy
MODA	Way; exactly
MON DI RIBA	Upper hand; higherside of a valley
MODERNO	Modern
MODJADO	Wet
MOLGÂ	To squeeze; to become crooked
MOLESTRA	Illness
MELON	Melon
MONDONGO	Swelling on the head from a blow
MONOCO	Chewing tobacco
MOQUETE	Violent blow
MORABE	Lovable
MORNA	Cape Verdean song and dance
MOROCE	
MORTADJA	Shroud; corn wrapper for cigarettes
MOSTRANSA	
MOTCHE	Male mule
MONZADA	Hand squeeze; enough
MUNTURO	Garbage heap
MUCINHO	Young man
MUDJER	Woman
MUFINA	Turbulent; unfortunate
MUFINEZA	Trouble making
MUINHO	Mill
MULENTÂ	To soften
MUTO	Much; very
MUTE MANTE-NHA	Much regards
MUCIDADE	Youth; virginity
MUNDRINGA	A dirty thing
MUN'GUÎ	To crumple; to wrinkle
MUNTILIA	Oilcan
MUNTURERO	Scavenger
MUNTCHLADA	Mixture; intrigue
MURINGO	Water jug
MUSGA	Musician
MUSEGUIM	A little musician
MUTJE	Many
MUSGO	Musician; singer
NNNNN	
NABO	Turnip
NACAN	Nation
NACIDO	Born
NAFRAGIO	Shipwreck
NAGOA	Water insect that children rub on their hands to break open prickly pears
NAU	No
NACENCA	Birth
NACIMENTO	Birth
NA ERA	In the year of
NASÇIDEDE	Need; lack
NECÊ	To be born
NEFRAGÂ	To be shipwrecked

NESCITÂ	To need
NOSSENHOR	God; Christ
NOTICÊ	To become right; nightfall
NHA	You (fem.)
NHA	Mrs.; Madame; my
NHA CABO	A place or seat; rump
NHANHA	Black grandma
NHANHAFA	Cow's sex organ
NHANGUDO	Shrunk
NHAMBABO	Metropolitan Portuguese "my father"
NHO	You (masc.)
NHO	Sir; Mr.
NHEMÊ	To eat; to chew
NHENGA	Nickname of African origin
NHA TENCO	My intent
NHO	Mr.; Sir
NHONHO	Grandpa
NHORSIM	Yes, sir
NHUM	None; not one
NHUZIN	Little Lord
NICTAC	Tick-tock
NINÂ	To lull to sleep; to warm; to console
NINHUN	Not one
NIVLA	Level
NODA	Stain
NOCENTE	Ignorant; imbecile
NOME	Name; last name
NOTACAN	Notation; funeral dirge
NOTADURA	Funeral dirge
NU	Nude
NUVEN	Cloud
NUNDIA	Never
NUMBRO	Number

OOOOO

OBRÂ	To work; to defecate
OCLO	Glasses
OCO N'ASTANGO	Empty stomach; hunger
ODJÂ	To look; to see; to admire
ODJABEQUE!	"I turn my back on you"
ODJO	Eye
OFERTA	Offer
ONDA	Wave; swell
ONDE	Where is it? To where?
ONESTO	Honest; well-dressed
ONTE. ONTONTE	Yesterday; day before yesterday
OPINIAO	Chagrin; opinion; susceptibility
ORCA	Orphan; curve on the sea
ORDE	Order
OREDJA	Ear
ORDINASAN	Ear; determination
ORFAN	Orphan
ORFANDADE	Orphan

ORFINDADE	Orphan
ORGUOJO	Pride; budjet
OTO	Other; another
OTODIA	The other day; the next day
OTOPSE	Atopsy
OVERA	Egg sack; genital organ of bird
PPPPP	
PA	Father
PA	For
PADJA	Straw
PA ES	For them
PACA	Child's game
PACHOCHA	Vulva
PADRE	Priest
PADAS DE TEMPO	Already some time ago
PA-DONE	Grandfather
PAEL	For him
PAIXAN	Passion; fury; rancor
PALMATORIA	Prickly pear
PALMETORADA	Punishment
PALTCHÎ	To smash
PALPÂ	To feel; to disrobe
PAMÓ	Reason
PAMODE	Because (of); for the love of
PANDUI	Sinkers (of a fishing net)
PANTCHA	Lover
PARCÊ	To seem; to appear; to liken
PARCERO	Partner; comrade
PARECENÇA	Similarity
PARIÇAN	Childbirth; budding of fruit on trees
PARICIDO	Similar in appearance
PARTIDA	Departure; anecdote; story
PARTÎ-BRIGA	To break up a fight
PASSA-BIONO	Type of falcon
PASSO-CANHOTO	Type of sea bird
PASTOR	Shepherd; precreator
ṔASTORA	Coitus among animals
PARTÎ GUERRA	To break up a fight
PATIFARIA	Chicanery; dirty tricks
PATIÂ	To make a part
PATIADO	Born from a pact with the devil
PATRICA	Whiskey of sugar cane produced on the island
PAUSIA	Pause; hours in which a rooster crows at night
PEDICENCA	Vicente
PDECECA	Suffering
PEDE	Farte
PEDRA	Stone
PEDRA D'ARA	Amulet
PE-D'ARVRE	Tree
PEDAMARMORE	Marble

PE-DE-MATO	Bush
PEDONTCHE	To ask for insistently
PELOTA	Pellet; violent blow; beating
PENDENCIA	Question or brawl
PENDE NA TEMPO	To hang in time; to run away
PEQUININHO	Very little
PEQNEZA	Smallness
PEGNININ	Very little
PEQNITCHIN	Very little
PROBLEMA	Problem
PRECISAN	Need
PROCISSAN	Procession
PROCURÂ	To look for, to provoke
PERDIMENTO	Ruin; destruction
PERDAN	Pardon
PREJUDICÂ	To bet; to harm; to be stubborn
PORFIÂ	To dispute
PERQUICA	Laziness
PRIMERO	First
PERGUNTÂ	To ask; question
PROMESSA	Promise
PERTENÇAN	Belonging; inheritance; part
PERMETÊ	To promise
PERVERSINDADE	Perversity
PERVICA	Smallness
PISCÂ	To look for; to pursue
PESCARRUDO	Provacateur; conflictive
PESE	Condolences
PETARADA	Ridiculous, noisy show; vanity
PETCHCÂ	To wrinkle; to crush
PETUADA	Blow with the chest
PETUERA	Hoarseness; bronchitis
PEXE	Fish
PIADEDE	Pity
POPARRIBA	Up there
PICA	Vagina
PIFONO	Epifanio
PILON	Pestle
PINACO	Pinnacle
PINICO	Picking at
PINTCHÂ	To push
PISSA	Penis
PITRA	Pedro
PIURIGE	Jaundice; yellow urine
PIXINHO	Child's penis
PILÂ	To pound; to crush
PLANEZA	Plain
PLATCHA	To be tired; to compress
PLAMANHA	At dawn; morning
PLENQUE	Belly
POLERO	Perch
PLIA	Fine powder; foreign matter in the eyes
POLICIA	Police
PLINGRINO	Pilgrim

PLOITA	Mountain of human excrement
PRAZO	Time span
PLUMÂ	To straighten
PLUME	Plummet; bob
PLURINHO	Regional market
PLUTCHÎ	To smash
POU	Stick
PON	Bread
POCO	Little; mocking; mockery
PODRÎ	To rot
PODRICÊ	To rot
POCADURA	Little time; short duration
POLA	Paula
POLON	Pestle
POLPA	Flesh; buttocks
PONTÂ	To sharpen; to point; to appear
PONTCHE	Punch
PONTCHE	Lover
PONTERO	Pointer; well-aimed; good marksman
POREM	Nevertheless
PORRADA	Blow with a bludgeon or whip
POSTEMA	Abscess; coagulation or clot
POSTURA	Positions on a stringed instrument
POTE	Pot; jug
PULTÂ	To catapult
PRINDÂ	To hang; to suspend
PURJÂ	To fight
PUTCHECA	To crush; to smash
PUXO	Hemorrhoid; piles
PNESSCA	To wink; to blink
PNICÂ	To pick at
PRAIA	Beach
PRAGA DE MAR	End of the sea; horizon
PRENDÊ	To learn and to retain
PRALA	Over there
PRANTA	Plant
PRANTÂ	To plant
PRALI	Around here
PRENDA	Aptitude; education; wisdom
PRENHA	Pregnant
PREPARO	Personal arrangements
PRUMÂ	To straighten; to arrive at

QQQQQ

QUALIDADE	Quality; origin
QUARTA	1/10 of a liter
QUASE	Almost
QUEBRADA	Avalanch
QUEBRADO	Broken
QUEBRANTO	Weakness; criticized
QUEJO	Cheese

QUELOTO	That other one
QUEMA BUFRERA	First coitus after childbirth
QUEMAMENTO	Burning; ardor; heartburn
QUENTÂ	To heat up; to become excited
QUERENCA	Desire; affection
QUES	Those
QUETO	Quiet
QUEXÂ	To complain; sickly; to accuse
QUEXA	Complaint; illness
QUEXOSO	Complaining; illness
QUIMODO	In what way
QUINTURA	Warmth; mugginess
QUIQUII	Exactly
QUIXUME	To present a complaint

RRRRR

RABADA	Tailed; criticized
RABATÂ	To obduct; child's game
RAIBA	Anger
RABIADO	Angry
RABUJA	Sickly
RADÂ	To move away
RAINHA	Queen
RAJETA	Part of the leg behind the knee joint
RALA	Grater; stone milll
RAMBOIA	Noisy play
RAMO	Branch; bonus given to workers at the end of a project.
RAMUJA	Annoyance; impertinence
RANJÂ	To arrange
RAPOSA	Fox; failed on exams
RAPOSA	Fox; covered with sweat
RASOL	Stick used to level off and take out the excess from vessels
RATCHA	Split; woman's vagina
RAZA	Prayer
REBATÂ	To abduct
REBE	Whip
REBENCADA	Whipping; blow
REDIÂ	Rolled up cloth for the head on which to carry loads; cloth to clean floors
REDMUNHE	Whirlwind; noise; confusion
REFASSÂ	To overcook food
REFESÊ	To chill
REGADIO	Garden which is watered from ditches
REGANHÂ	To provoke; to fling open
REGASADO	Rolled up; conflictive
REGÊ	To govern; to administer
REGOJÂ	To protect oneself; to seek refuge
REGOJO	Refuge

REI	King; powerful; commanding
RELINTCHÂ	To whinny
RELOJO	Watch; clock
REMESGÂ	To whine; to grumble
RENCA	Rank; row
REPIA	Grouchiness; sickly
REPUCADO	Concealed; lump of sugar
RESMEÂ	To grumble
RESPOSTA	Reply
REVEL	Rebel
REXA	Brawl
RIAL CASTIGO	"Real punishment", phrase from a Capeverdean child's game
RIBÂ	To climb up
RIBERA	Creek; village
RINCON	Glen; great pillar
RINDIDO	Ruptured
RINGI	To creak or squeak
RINTCHÂ	To whinny
RINTCHADA	Horse laugh
RIOLA	Intrigue
RIQUEZA	Riches
RODONDO	Round
ROFEGA	Fight; gust of wind
ROLON	Regional dish made of pieces of grains of corn.
RONCODJO	Having only one testicle
ROPA	Clothes
ROSCA	Wheat bread, in the form of a braided ring.
ROSCON	Well-dressed
ROTÂ	To scorn arrogantly
ROTCHA	Stone
ROTCHÂ	To tighten
ROTCHODE	Tightened; squeezed
ROTE	Belch

SSSSS

SABE	Delicious
SABENCA	Wisdom
SABIDO	Wise
SABOROSO	Tasty
SABURA	Pleasure; very tasty
SACUOI	To shake; to hurl
SAIA	Skirt
SALABANCÂ	To jolt; to oscillate
SALOMAN	Solomon
SALUÇÂ	To sob
SALUCO	Sob
SALVÂ	To save; to greet
SAMARRUDO	Frowning
SAN	They are; saint
SANABATICHAI	Son of a bitch

SANABAGANAI	Son of a gun
SANCRISTAN	Sacristan
SANGUE	Eruptions
SANGUE REAL	Real blood; sign of human presence in a giant's house
SANHÂ	To enrage; to provoke; to excite
SANHOSO	Furious; violent
SANHUDO	Fearful; frightful
SAPÂ	To sap; to undermine
SARDA	Freckle; type of shark
SARRÂ	To close
SARRADJA	Overcoat of goatskin
SARRON	Leather bags for transporting food
SEGUNDA	Second; vengeance
SEGURA	Certain; pregnant
SEITA	Sect; obstinacy
SELADA	Sealed; appeared from a region
SEM ÇONTA NEM PESO NEM MEDIDA	"Without order or advice or recourse
SEMIÂ	To sow; to plant
SENDICÂ	To investigate
SERVIÇO	Service; to defecate
SES	Their; six
SIDINHA	Rope made from the mane; bristles, and bovines, etc.
SIMA	Just like; to be in love with
SINÂ	To sign; to determine
SINCÂ	To die
SINDICÂ	To investigate
SINTÂ	To sit; to jot down
SINTÎ	To feel; to hear; to listen to
SIRVIDO	Served; deflowered (virgin)
SISTÎ	To attend; to reside
SIZUDO	Astute person who pretends to be silent
SOBÂ	To knead; regional dance
SOBADA	Blow with the belly by the African
Sobas	
SOCA	To tie well
SODADE	Health
SOFRENÇA	Suffering
SOMÂ	To appear
SOMADA	Mountain or hill top
SOMBRA-RUM	Partial paralysis
SORCA	Bird trap
SORENTO	Sweaty
SOSSEGÂ	To soothe
STRANHO	Strange; stanger; foreigner
SUJEGÂ	To subjugate
SUJEITÂ	To subject
SURDÎ	To emerge; to appear
SUSTENCIA	Strength; vigor

TTTTT

TABA	Board

TABAI	Fruit of a regional cactus
TAGUADA	Table of figures
TAL'EGÂR	Meeting place
TALENTÂ	To exite by touching the nipples
TALHADURA	Blood on the internal part of the heel
TALISGA	Pieces of dried manioc
TAMANINHO	Little size; small
TAMBE	Also
TAMBEQUE	Cane cylinder to conserve cereals
TAMBLA E TAMBRA	Tamara
TANHÂ	Tania
TBAFÂ	To stifle
TCHABE	Key
TCHACINA	Slaughtering; dried goat meat
TCHACOTA	Jeering
TCHADA	Find; plain of agrarian culture
TCHAPEU	Hat
TCHAPEUDE FITICERA	Mushroom
TCHASQUE	Nap
TCHEBEFO	
TCHEBOQUE	Poorly done work
TCHEBOQUERO	Rustic
TCHEFRE	Chief, boss; daring
TCHEFREZA	Daring
TCHEQUERO	Pigsty
TCHEQUINO	Suckling pig
TCHICA!	Pejorative exclamation
TCHIFRE	Horns
TCHITCHARRO	Local fish
TCHCOLÂ	To shake; to agitate
TCHINA	Suckling pig
TCHOLDRA	Riffraff; pack
TCHONTCHA	Sweet potato
TCHOTCHO	Hollow; dull
TCHUC	Pig
TCHUTCHA	Lover
TCHUTCHINHA	Lover
TCHUBA	Rain
TECHEMESCÂ	To scorch
TEGORA	Until now; still now
TEHOJE	Until today; on this day
TE-LOGO	Good-bye!
TEMÂ	To take; to drink; to fornicate
TEMENTE	Fearing; while
TEM'PERÂ	To season; to tune a string
TEMPO SEM FIM E SEM TERMO	Storm
TENCAN	Intent; idea; resolution
TENTACAN	Temptation
TENTÊ	To extend; to shake flour in a special basket to refine it.
TEQUE	Until; finally
TEREN	The small belongings of a family
TERPIDA	Great roar; noise
TERPITCHE	Small sugar mill

TI	Uncle
TICARANGA	Tiganga
TIGANGA	Character of children's folktales of Cape Verde
TILOB	" " " " " " " " " " " "
TINGUÎ	To shiver with goose pimples
TINJIRINA	Tangerine
TLOBOSQUE	Madcap
TOCANTE	Regarding
TOLDO	Awning; nuptial alcore
TOMA BARRIGA	Pregnancy
TOPÂ	To run into; to find
TOPETE	Inflammation on the neck
TORMENTÂ	To torment painful effect of a body
TRABAJO	Work
TRABUSQUE	Dangerous
TRAIÇAN	Betrayal
TRANTÂ	To confuse; to disorient
TREBLÂ	To afflict
TREFEGÂ	To revolve; to cut into pieces
TREMTÊ	To insert
TREPTCHÂ	To store
TRESBINTEM	Virginity
TRESTANTO	Triple
TRIBULACAN	Tribulation; percipitation
TRIBULADO	Distressed; hastened
TRISTURA	Sadness
TROCATO	
TUADA	Tune; equal social position; age
TUCINHO	Salt; pork
TUDO	All
TUDOS	All
TUDODIA	Every day
TUDO FETO	All finished
TUNGINHA	Regional child's game
TURÂ	To endure; to last
TURDUADO	Crazed

UUUUU

UAH!	Ah!
UFUH!	Uf!
ULIL	Eito. ('There it is'). Primitive Arabic name for the Cape Verdean islands.
URDÎ	To involve in an intrigue
URDIMENTO	Scheme
URIÇÂ	To enrage
URIL	Numerical game played on a board
URIM	
URRUH!	Hooray!

VVVVV

VARZEA	Meadow; plain

VIL	Greedy
VIRJA	Virgin
VISTA QUE LEBREGA	All that he sees, he wants
VIULINHA	Spikes to hurt thieves in the gardens and fields
VOCOTE	Over coat
XXXXX	
XACOCO	Idiot; awkward
XEREM	Coarsely ground corn flour for a regional dish
XOBLA	Shovel
XUNGARIA	Lincentiousness; a party for the masses
ZZZZZ	
ZENORÂ	To discharge; to degenerate
ZUNÎ	To whistle; to bluster
ZUNIDO	Bluster; whistling
ZURRÂ	To babble
ZUADA	Buzzing; humming

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Appendix A

Preparaçan pa

Leitura

Manual de Professor

Discriminaçan Visual: *Identificaçan de Forma e Objeto Igual*

Objetivo – Preparâ aluno pa:

- Identificâ forma e objeto igual na configuraçan.

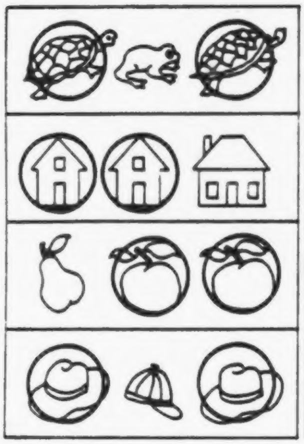
Material – Flanelógrafo, algun forma de flanela grupo de objeto, algun forma de papel, tesora, jornal e revista, *Caderno de Exercício.*

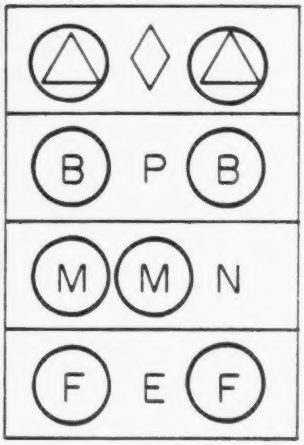
Vocabulário – Forma

Desenvolvimento de Liçon

Introduçan

Professor ta pô na flanelógrafo quato forma igual ma de cor diferente. Explicase que ques forma é diferente só na cor.





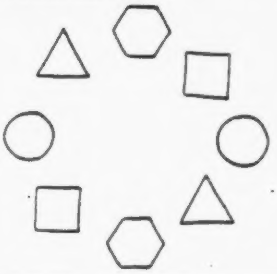
Atividade

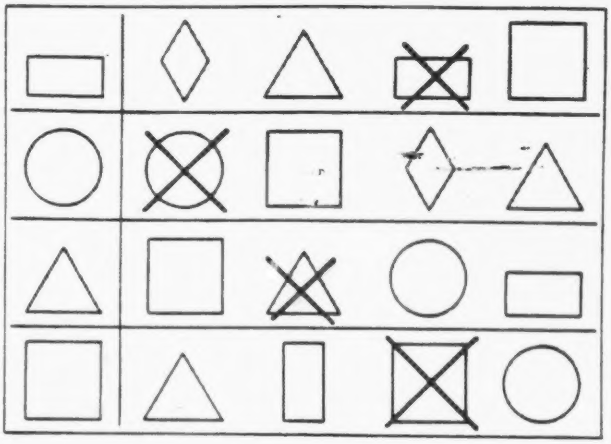
- **Forma Igual**
  Pô na flanelógrafo quato forma diferente de mesmo cor. Mostrâ aluno un forma que ten sé correspondente na flanelógrafo e dâ un aluno pa pô'l debaxo de quel forma igual que stâ na flanelógrafo.

  Repití es atividade co ques oto forma que stâ na flanelógrafo.

- **Objeto Igual**
  Preparâ tcheu grupo de cinco objeto co dos de mesmo forma e tres de forma diferente. Aluno debê atchâ na cada grupo dos objeto de mesmo forma.

- **Andâ de Roda.**
  Pô na tchon tcheu forma diferente té fazê un circlo. Dâ cada aluno un forma feto de papel que ten sé correspondente na circlo que stâ na tchon. Tudo aluno ta bâ ta çantâ o ta recitâ cançan de "Andâ de Roda."





Tudo dgente ta parâ tó ques frâ último silba de "dibinhâ." Es ta spiâ se quel forma que es tenê na mon é igual na forma de quel ques tenê na sés pé. Se é igual es ta bâ pa metade. Djogo ta cabâ tó que professor atchâ dreto.

- **Caderno de Exercicio**
  Fazê atividade de *Caderno de Exercício,* na página 42.

Valiaçan – Fazê página 22 de *Libro de Aluno.*

Comunicaçan Oral: *Stória pa bo Contâ*

Objetivo

- Criâ stória dun fogón, dun carro, de mesa posto e dun avian.

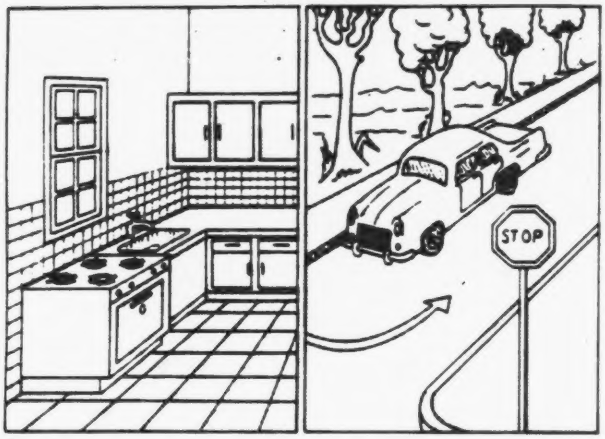
Material – *Libro de Aluno, Caderno de Exercício.*

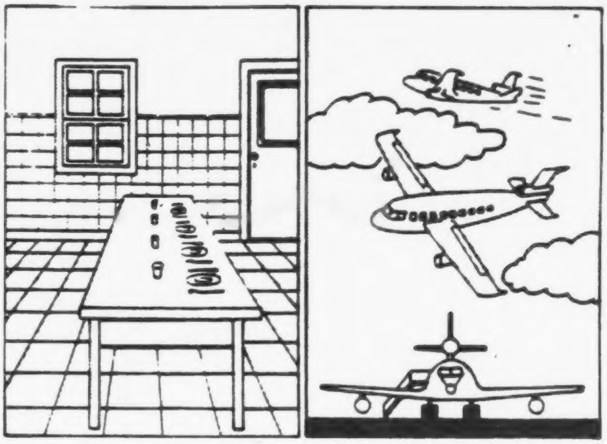
Vocabulário – Stória.

Desenvolvimento de Liçon

Introduçan

Pô na quadro o na flanelógrafo un gravura tirado dun revista co un stória que meniso podê conchê.





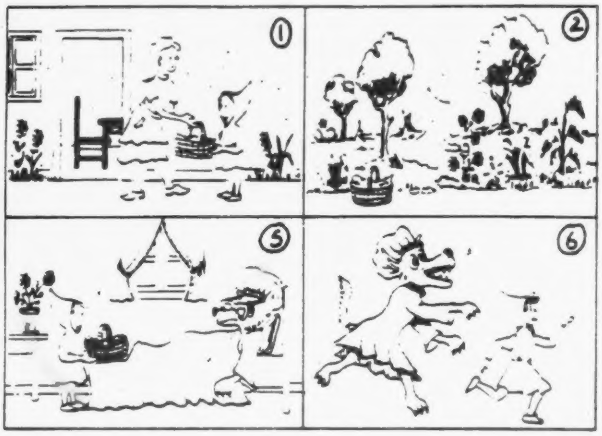
Encorajase pa es papiâ de quel gravura e fazese algun pergunta. Scodjê un voluntário pa contâ stória pa tudo classe. Tó que aluno stâ ta contâ só stória, professor ta djobê animâ'l e mostrâ interessado na tudo cusa que el stâ ta frâ.

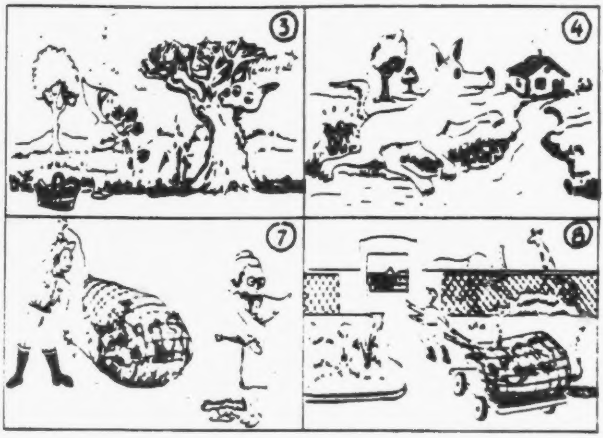
Atividade

- **Stória pa bo Contâ**
  Usâ ques quato gravura de *Libro de Aluno* na página 24 e 25 pa meniso contâ stória. Se meniso mostrâ dificuldade na papiâ de ques cena professor podê fazese algun pergunta pa djudase:
  - Nhos spiâ gravura de fogon. Nhos sabê pa que é que fogon ta serbí? Cusé que mamai ta coznhâ na el? Quen que podê mechê na fogon?
  - Nhos odjâ pa gravura de carro. Algun dgente na nhos família ten carro? Nhose, meniso, nhos podê guiâ carro? Pamô nao? Tó que nhos criâ, nhos ta gostaba de ten carro? Que cor de carro nhos ta gostaba de ten?
  - Nhos spiâ quel gravura de mesa. Mesa stâ posto. Cusé que stâ riba de mesa? Pa que ques ta serbí? Dixâ meniso papiâ de ques comida que es ta gostâ mas tcheu.
  - Nhos reparâ na gravura di ques avian. Bedjo dgente ta viajaba mas de nabiu. hoje, quase tudo dgente ta viajâ de avian. Professor podê papia co meniso de ses viaje de nabiu e di avian.

- **Stória de Capuchino Bermedjo**
  Professor, se atchâ dreto, podê contâ meniso stória de Capuchinho Bermedjo. Depós el ta madase pintâ ques desenho de *Caderno de Exercício*, na página 45 té 48. Na fin, es ta cortâ ques quadro e es ta fazê un librinho de stória que professor ta pô es títlo: "Capuchinho Bermedjo"

Valiaçan – Aluno ta contâ el só un stória de un de ques quato gravura presentado na *Libro de Aluno* na página 24 e 25.





Preparasan pa
Leitura

Manual de Professor

Diskriminasan Vizual: Identifikasan di Forma i Objetu Igual

Objetivu - Preparâ aluno pa:
- Identifikâ forma i objetu igual na konfigurasan.

Material - Flanelografu, algun forma di flanela, grupo di objetu, algun forma di papel, tizora, jurnal i revista, Kadernu di Izirsisiu.

Vukabulariu - Forma

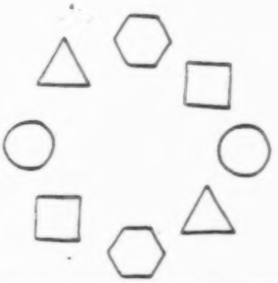
Dizenvolvimentu di lison

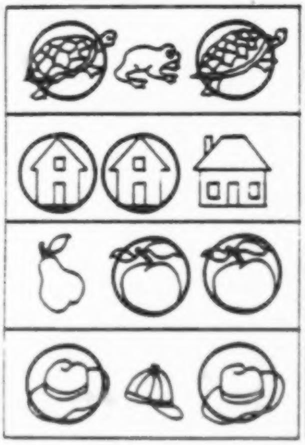
Intrudusan

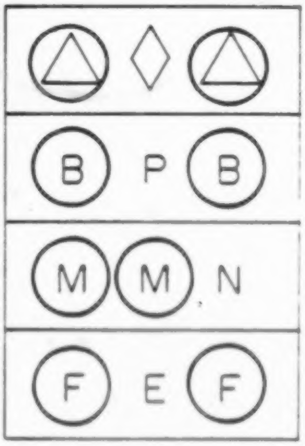
Profesor ta pô na flanelografu kuatu forma igual ma di kor diferenti. Isplikazi ki kes forma e diferenti so na kor.

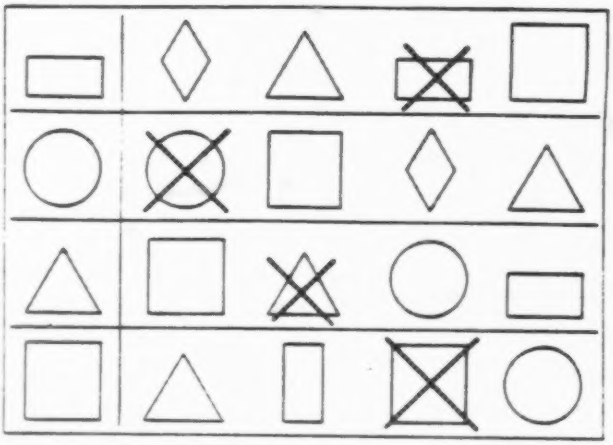
•Andâ di Roda

Pô na ĉon ĉeu forma diferenti te fazê un sirklu. Dâ kada alunu un forma fetu di papel ki ten se kurespondenti na sirklu ki stâ na côn. Tudu alunu ta bâ ta kantâ o ta resitâ kansan di "Antâ di Roda".









Atividadi

- Forma Igual

Pô na flanelografu kuatu forma diferenti di mesmo kor. Mostrâ alunu un forma ki ten se mesmo kor. Mostrâ un forma ki ten se kurespondenti na flanelografu i dâ un alunu pa pô'l dibaŝu di kel forma igual ki stâ na flanelografu.

- Objetu Igual

Preparâ ĉeu grupu di sinku objetu ku dos di mesmu forma i tres di forma diferenti. Alunu debê aĉâ na kada grupu dos objetu di mesmu forma.

Tudu ĵenti ta parâ to kes frâ ultimu silba di "dibiña". Es ta spiâ si kel forma ki es tenê na mon ê igual na forma di kel kes tenê na ses pe. Si ê igual es ta bâ pa metadi. Ĵogu ta kabâ to ki profesor aĉâ dretu.

- Kadernu di Izirsisiu

Fazê atividadi di Kadernu di Izirsisiu, na pagina 42.

Valiasan - Fazê pagina 22 di Libru di Alunu.

Kuminikasan Oral: Storia pa bu Kontâ

Objetivu

- Kriâ storia dun fogon, dun karu, di meza postu i dun avian.

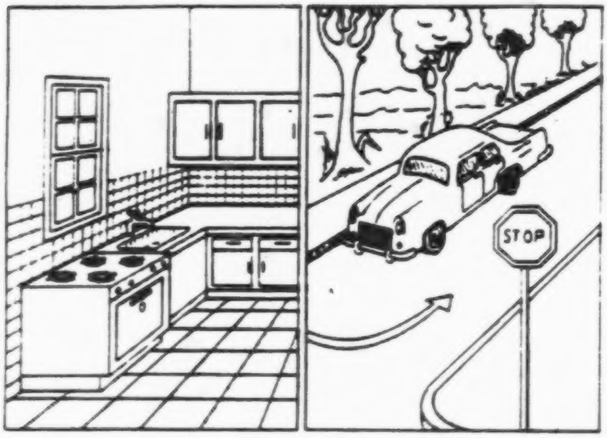
Material - Libru di Alunu, Kadernu di Izirsisiu.

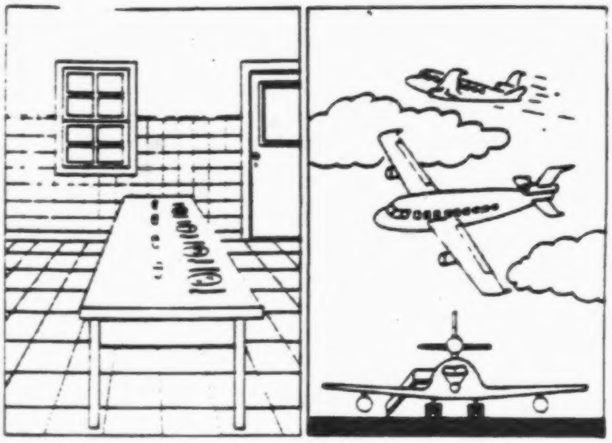
Vukabulariu - Storia

Dizenvolvimentu di lison

Intrudusan

Pô na kuadru o na flanelografu un gravura tiradu dun revista ku un storia ki minizu podê konsê. Inkuražazi pa es papiâ di kel gravura i fazezi algun pergunta. Skoĵê un vuluntariu pa kontâ storia pa klase. To ki alunu stâ ta kontâ se storia, profesor tâ ĵobê animâ'l i mostrâ interesadu na tudu kuza ki el ta frâ.





Atividadi

- Storia pa Kontâ

Uzâ kes kuatu gravura di Libru di Alunu na pagina 24 i 25 pa minizu kontâ storia. Si minizu mostrâ difikuldadi na papiâ di kes sena professor podê fazezi algun pergunta pa judazi:

- Ños spiâ gravura di fogon. Ños sabê pa ki ê ki fogon ta sirbi? Kuzê ki mamai ta kuziñâ na el? Ken ki podê meŝê na fogon?

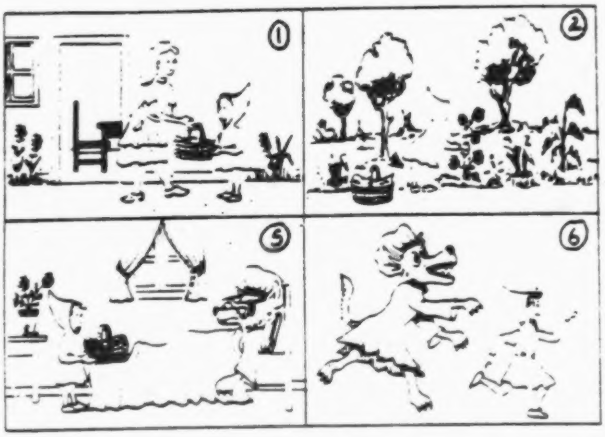
- Ños ojâ pa gravura di karu. Algun ĵenti na nos familia ten karu? Nosi, minizu, nos podê guiâ karu? Pamo nau? To ki nos kirâ, nos ta gostaba di ten karu? Ki kor di karu nos ta gostaba di ten?

- Ños spiâ kel gravura di meza. Meza stâ postu. Kuze ki stâ riba di meza? Pa ki kes ta sirbi? Dišâ minizu papiâ di kes kumida ki es ta gostâ mas čeu.

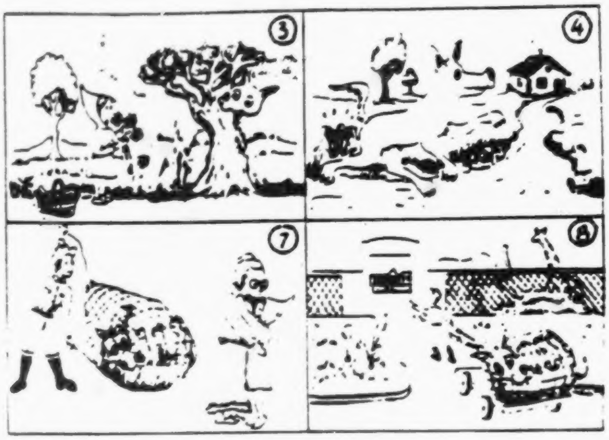
- Ños reparâ na gravura di kes avian. Beĵu ĵenti ta viažaba mas di nabiu. Uže, kuazi tudu ĵenti ta viažâ di avian. Professor podê papiâ ku minizu di ses viaži di nabiu o di avian.

- Storia di Kapušian Bermeju

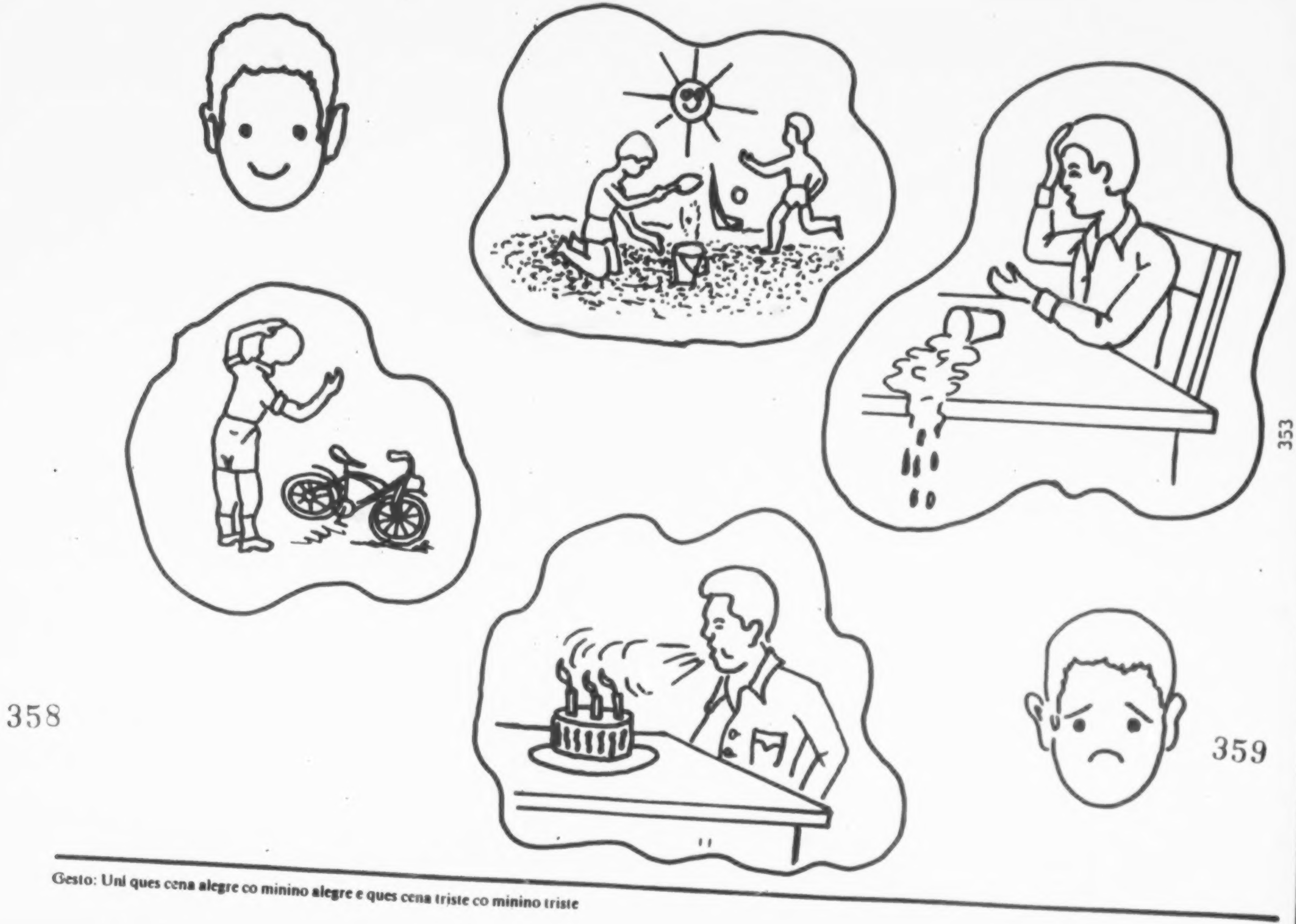
Professor, si aĉâ dretu, podê kontâ minizu storia di Kapušinu Bermeju. Dipos el ta mandazi pintâ kes dizenu di kadernu di Izirsisiu , na pagina 45 te 48. Na fin, es ta kortâ kes kuadru i es ta fazê un libriñu di storia ki professor ta pô es titlu "Kapušinu Bermeju".



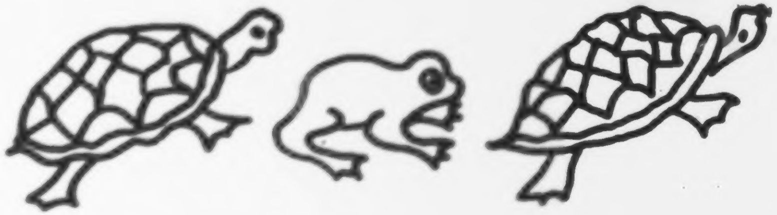
Valiasan- Alunu ta kontâ el so un storia di un di kes kuatu gravura presentadu na Libru di Alunu na pagina 24 i 25.

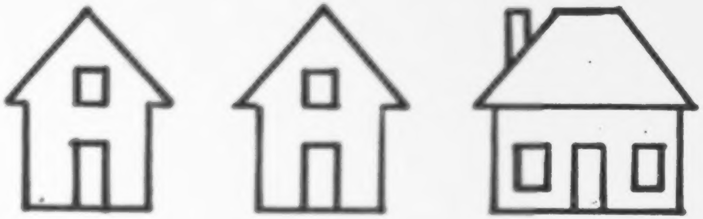


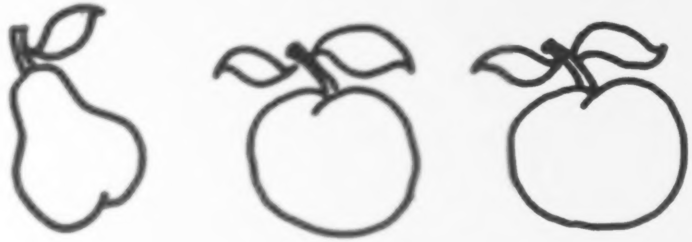
Appendix B

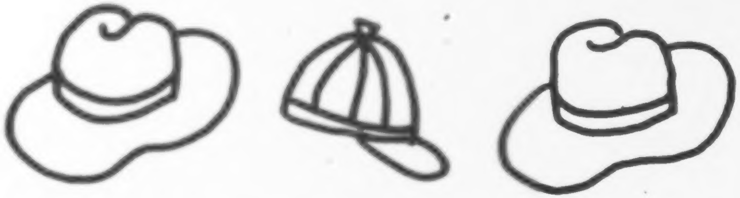


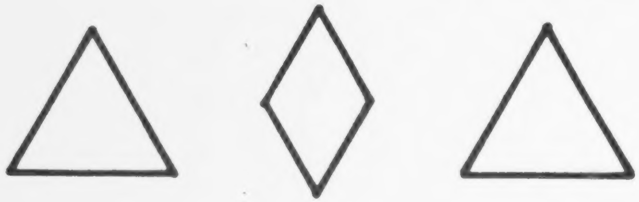
Gesto: Uni ques cena alegre co minino alegre e ques cena triste co minino triste









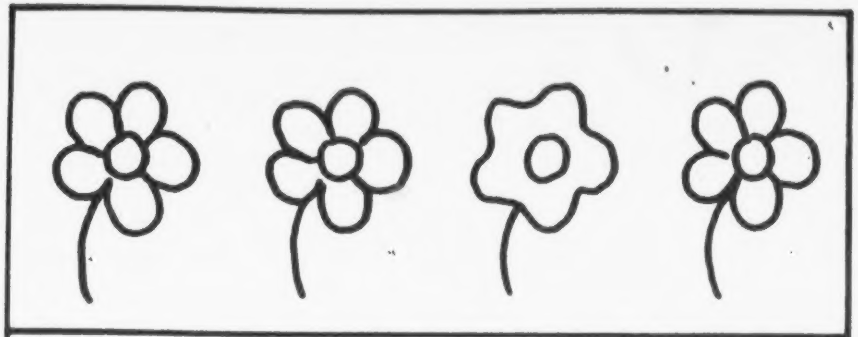


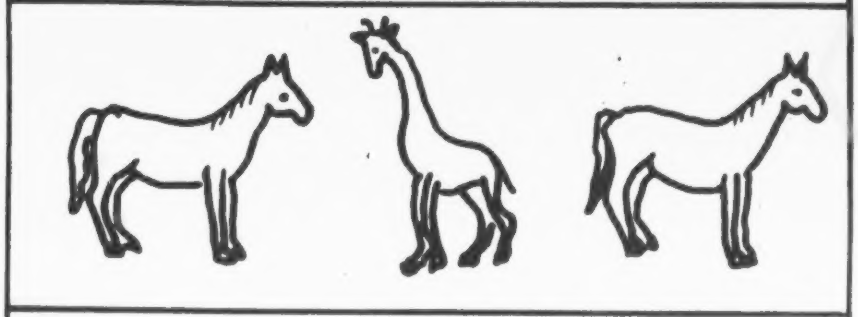
B P B

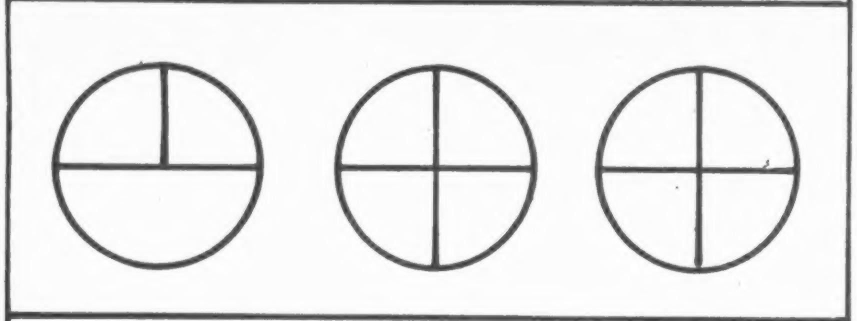
M M N

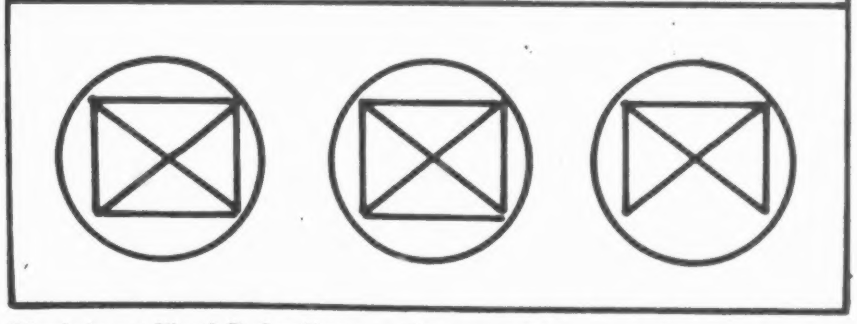
F E F

Discriminaçan Visual: Fazê un 0 na ques objeto que é de mesmo forma na cada grupo









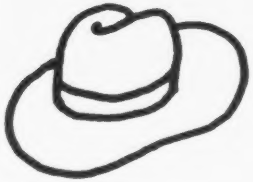
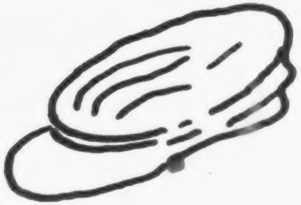
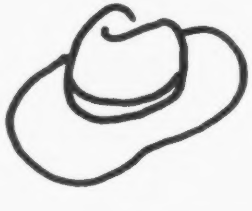
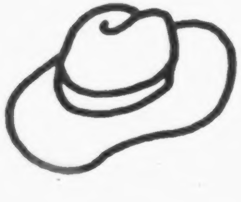
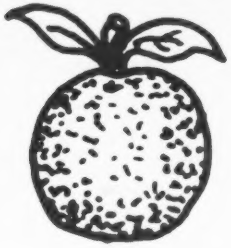
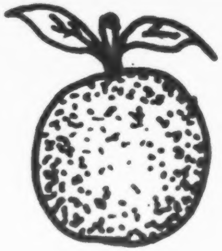
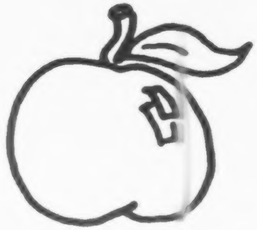
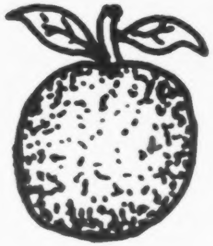
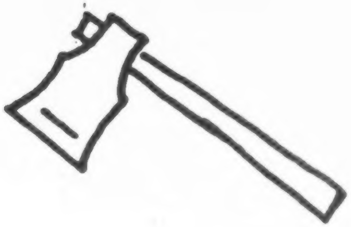
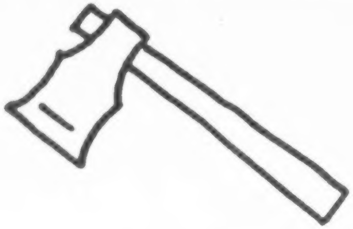
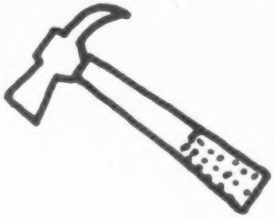
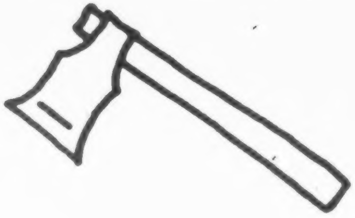
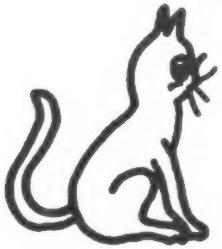
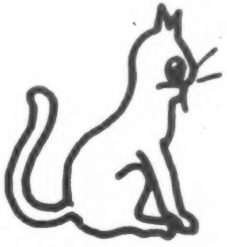
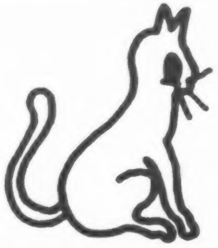
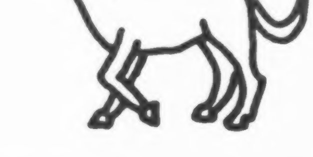
A A V A

T F T T

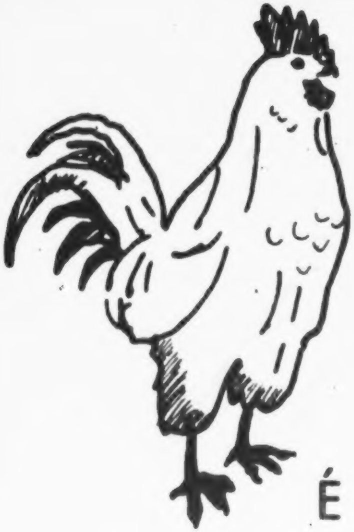
V V A

P b P

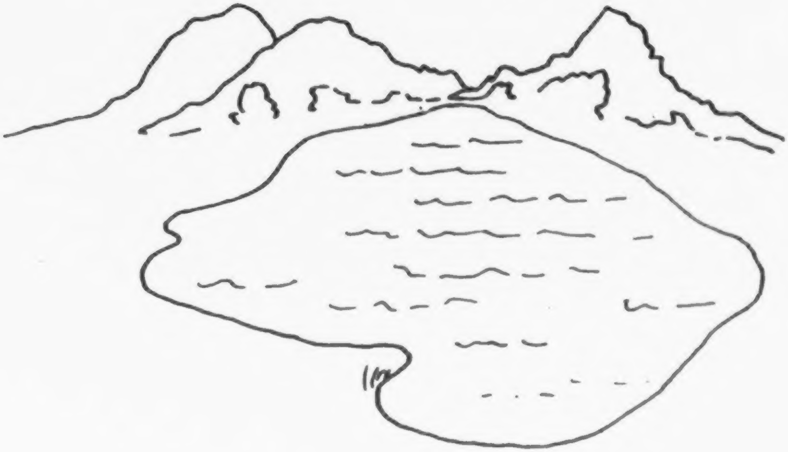
Discriminaçan Visual: Fazê un X na ques objeto que é diferente na cada grupo

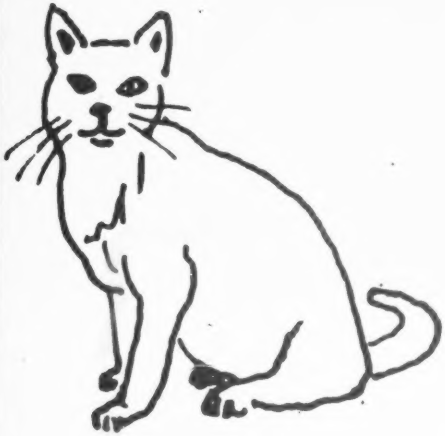
Discriminaçan Visual: Fazê un X na ques objeto que é diferente na cada fila



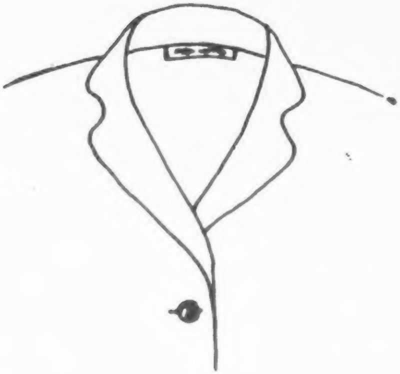
É galo.



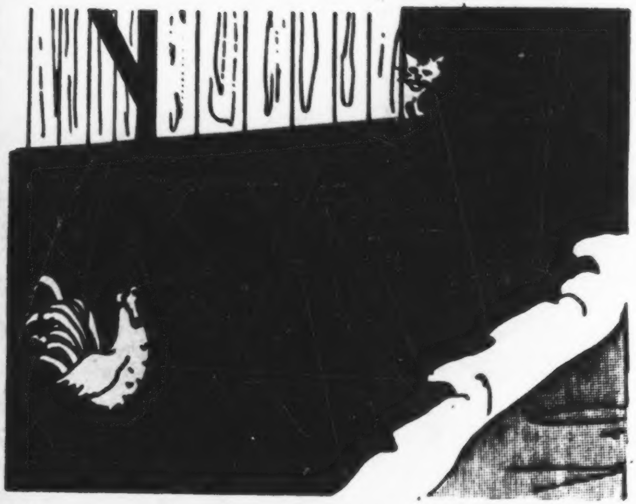
É lago.



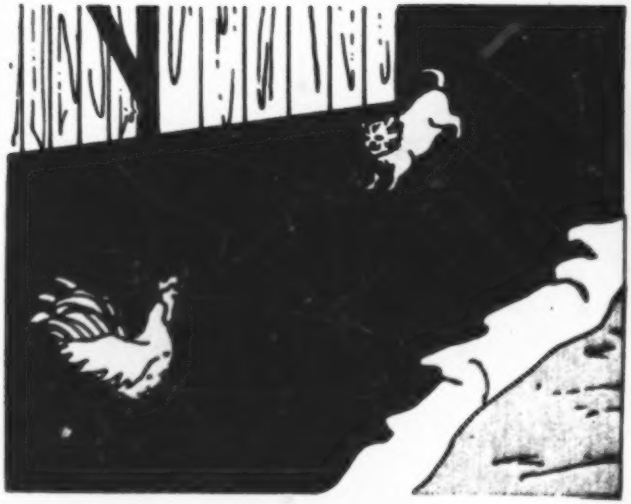
É gato.



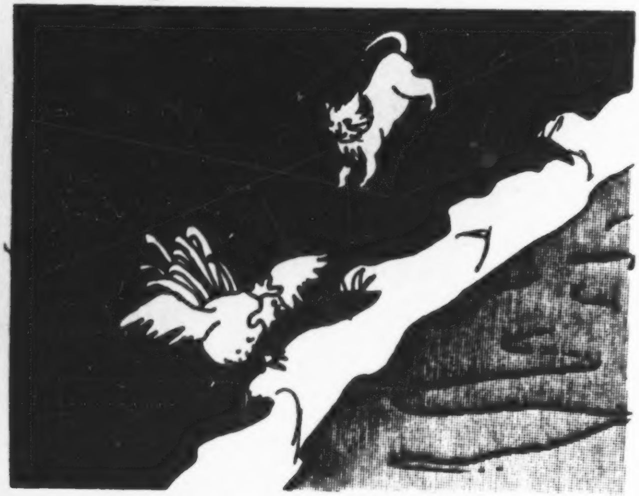
É gola.



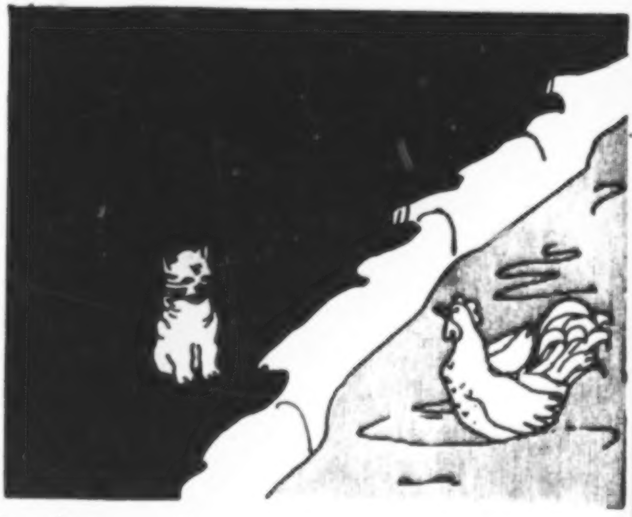
Un galo stâ cantâ djunto co lago.



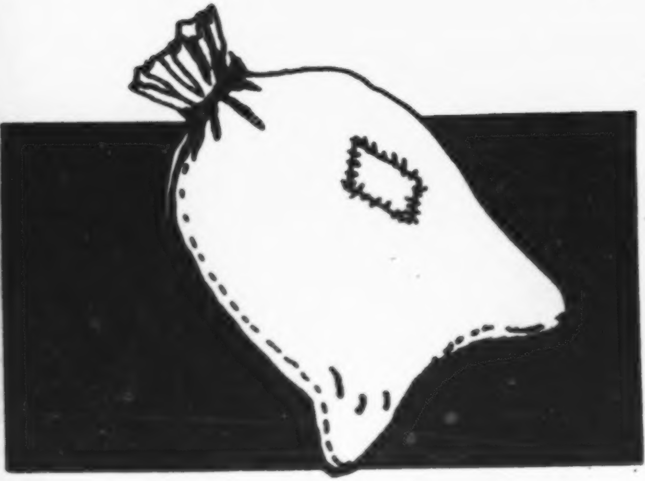
Un gato parcê ta corrê.



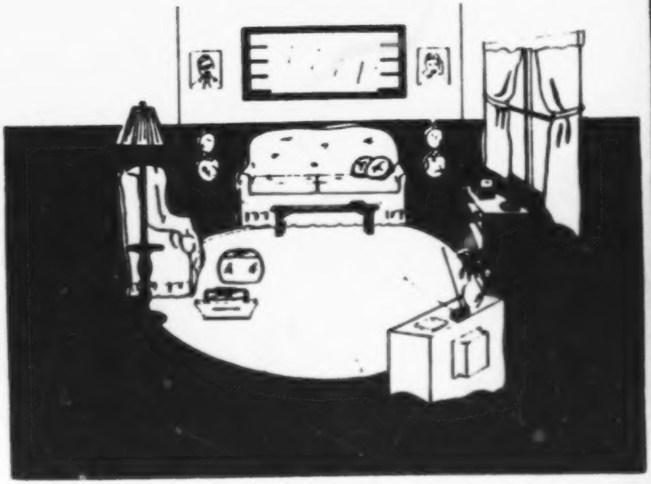
Galo odjâ gato ta corrê pa el.



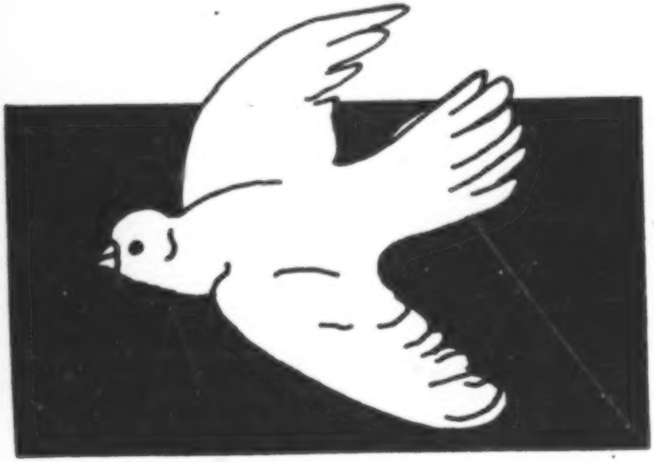
Galo caí na lago.
El ficâ tudo modjado.



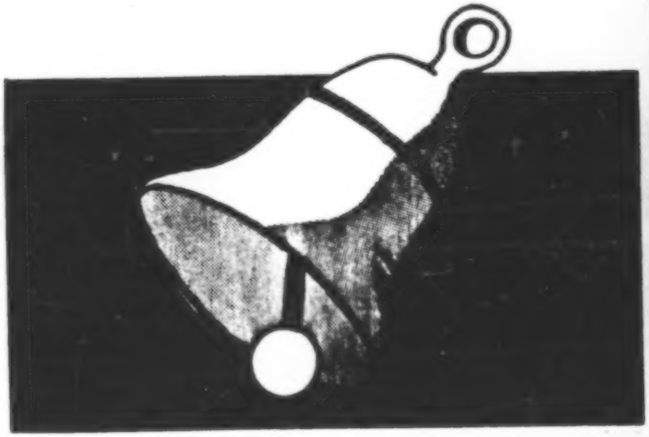
É saco.



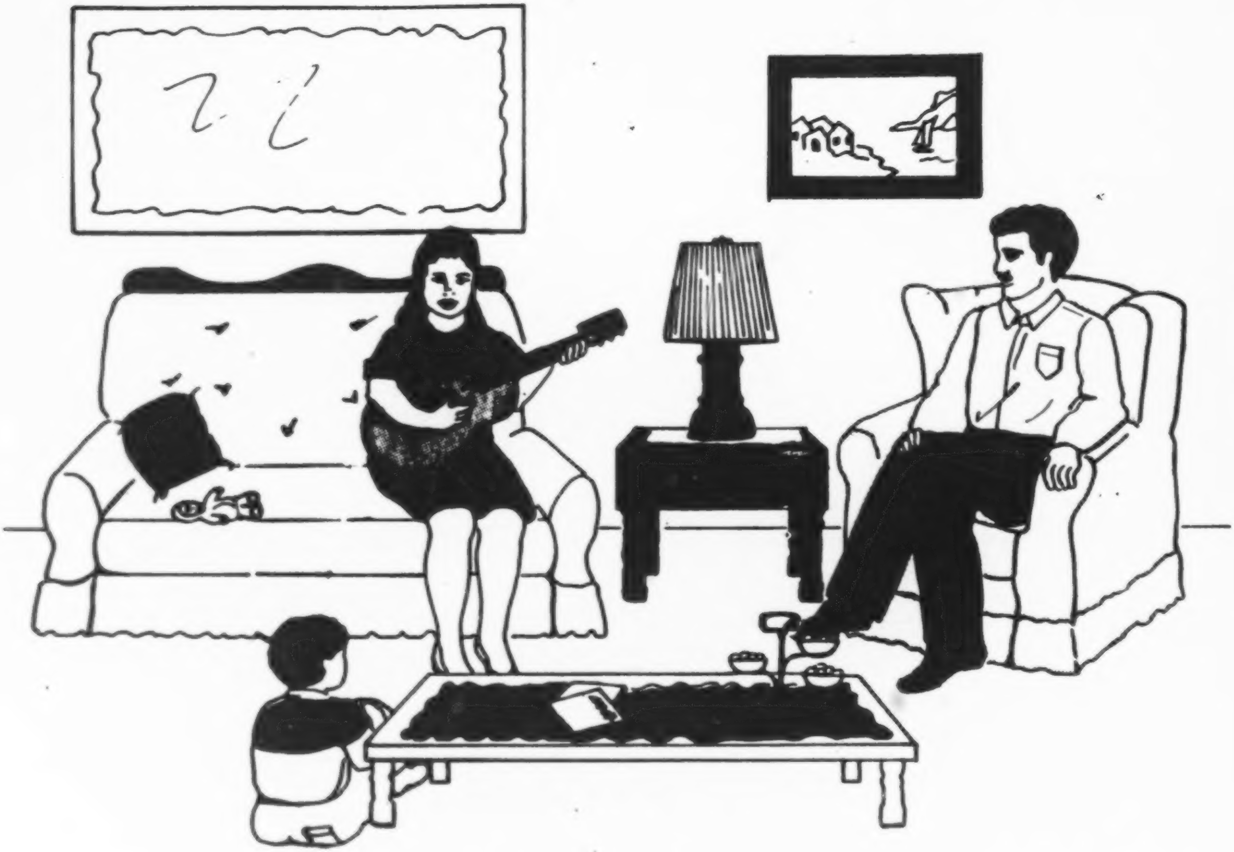
É sala.



É passo.



É sino.



Mamá stâ na sala.
Mamá stâ tocâ viola.
Papá stâ na sala.
Papá stâ ubí mamá tocâ viola.
Beto stâ na sala.
Beto stâ ubí mamá tocâ viola.